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Pro-Slavery.

In this Department we give place to such extracts from the Pro Slavery Press, North and South, as serve best to illustrate the character of Slavery and the spirit of its champions and apologists.

THE ANTI ABOLITION MALIGNANTS IN COUNCIL.

[On Tuesday evening, July 1st, the Anti-Abolition Malignants of New York, under the lead of *The Journal of Commerce*, *Express*, and kindred prints, held a meeting at the Cooper Institute. The hall was crowded (for the sort of men who naturally rally under such a call are numerous in a city abounding in grog-shops, gambling hells, pro-slavery churches, greedy worshippers of mammon and unscrupulous politicians), but the stands provided for speaking in the street were not used, for lack of hearers! We give below the principal resolutions adopted on the occasion, and extracts from some of the speeches.]

RESOLUTIONS.

Resolved, 1. That in the present crisis, when our beloved country is involved in civil war, and the foundations of our Constitution are in danger of being overthrown, it is the duty of every American citizen, laying aside all prejudices and attachments, whether of party or locality, to devote his energies, his fortune, and if need be his life, to the preservation, the defence and the perpetuity of the American Union.

2. That in considering the dangers which immediately threaten the Union, we find two fallacies attempting to accomplish the work of destruction—the one being that of secession, culminating in the rebellion of Southern citizens, who by force of arms have attacked the glorious fabric which our fathers erected; the other being that of abolition, which has induced Northern disunionists to declare their enmity to the Constitution, that noble instrument which is the holy bond of brotherhood of Americans.

3. That while the government is engaged in the work of suppressing the first-named class of foes to the Union, it is our duty as citizens to sustain our government, and defend it from all enemies at home and abroad; and that in this national emergency, banishing all feelings of mere passion or resentment, we should recollect only our duty to the whole country; *that this war should not be waged on our part in any spirit of oppression, or for any purpose of conquest or subjugation, or of overthrowing or interfering with the rights or established institutions of States, but to defend and maintain the supremacy of the Constitution, and to preserve the Union with all the dignity, equality and rights of the several States unimpaired, and as soon as these objects are accomplished the war ought to cease.*

4. That in dealing with the other class of foes to the Union, it becomes every citizen to bear in mind the advice of the fathers. Obeying the sage commands of Washington, they should remember that the Union is the main pillar of our real independence, the support of our tranquillity at home, our peace abroad, our safety, our prosperity, our liberty. That as this is the point in our political fortress against which the batteries of internal and external enemies will be most constantly and actively (often covertly and insidiously) directed, we should cherish a cordial, habitual and immovable attachment to it, accustoming ourselves to think and speak of it as the palladium of our political safety and prosperity, watching for its preservation with jealous anxiety, discountenancing whatever may suggest even a suspicion that it can in any event be abandoned, and indignantly frowning upon the first dawning of every attempt to alienate any portion of our country from the rest, or to enfeeble the sacred ties which now link together the various parts. That, towards the preservation of our government, it is requisite not only that we discountenance irregular opposition to its acknowledged authority, such as is now exhibited at the South, and has been exhibited at the North in Personal Liberty bills and other unconstitutional legislation, but also that we resist with care the spirit of innovation upon its principles, however specious the pretext. That in the doctrine of leading radical politicians, newspapers and orators, that secession ordinances are operative to destroy the Union, we recognize an innovation on those principles which has been correctly characterized by a member of the Cabinet as tending to aid and abet the Southern Confederates, and which is designed to be hostile to the Union. That in the plans of the Emancipation League, composed of certain distinguished radical leaders of the Republican party, to exclude from the Union all States which do not abolish slavery, we see an attack upon the American Union. That in the proposition to erect a war power above the Constitution, for the purpose of abolishing slavery by its means, we find another plan to subvert the American system. That in all the plans and schemes of radicalism we can see no patriotism, no loyalty, no honesty, but that they are clearly, though insidiously, designed, equally with the plans of the Southern disunionists, to overthrow the Constitution, and erect in its place a new government, on principles of tyranny over those who differ from majorities in views of right.

5. That to such measures of the Administration as may be consonant with the Constitution, we will at all times yield a hearty support. That the prompt action of the President in revoking the proclamations of certain Abolition Generals should receive the approbation of all conservative, Union-loving citizens, from whom our government derives its chief support in men and means to carry on the war; and that the continual pressing of the negro question upon the attention of the country, and the constant attempts in Congress and elsewhere to connect the abolition of slavery with the work of the Army, is an insult to our brave and gallant brothers in the field for the Union and the Constitution, and for no other cause.

6. That the soldiers composing the armies of the Union have merited a nation's thanks and will receive a nation's care, and upon their victorious return we will meet them with rejoicing praises; and should they fall in the cause, we will build monuments to their memories, while their wives and children shall be a precious legacy to be tenderly cared for, as the objects of our nation's guardianship. That we tender our hearty thanks to the leaders of the two great armies of the East and of the West, to Gen. George B. McClellan for the skill and ability which planned the campaigns, and for that calm self-possession which he has exhibited under the base attacks of Abolitionists while he has bravely fought the enemy under great obstacles, and to Gen. Halleck for his brilliant successes; that our armies are not enlisted in any other cause than that of the Constitution and the Union; and that the allegation of the Abolitionists that the soldiers of New York, or of the country, are fighting for negro freedom or negro equality, dishonors as good and brave men as the sun ever shone upon.

7. That this is a government of white men, and was established exclusively for the white race; that the negro race are not entitled to and ought not to be admitted to political or social equality with the white race, but that it is our duty to treat them with kindness and consideration as an inferior and dependent race; that the right of the several States to determine the position and duties of the race is a sovereign right, and the pledges of the Constitution require us as loyal citizens not to interfere therewith.

9. That the Union as it was is the Union of Washington and of the fathers; the Union which has made America illustrious among nations; the Union which was the most beneficent government known to man. That the Constitution as it is, is the hope of the nation, adhering to and protected by which, we shall be again free, happy and glorious; departing from and destroying which, we shall be left with only the ruins of a great nation around us, out of which no man can prophesy any new Union, or construct any better Constitution. That, believing in these principles, and praying for the guidance and blessing of God on our efforts, we, the representatives of various political parties, and of all classes and employments and professions, do solemnly reaffirm our allegiance to the Constitution as it is, and pledge our lives, our fortunes and our honors to the cause of the Union as it was.

EXTRACTS FROM SPEECHES.

Charles A. Wickliffe, M.C., of Ky.—How the Union men of Kentucky had behaved in the battles which took place in the West was not for him to say, or how they intended to behave if it were not for the wicked, hellish measures of the Abolitionists of the North (cheers, and hisses for the Abolitionists). It was Abolition, and not slavery, that was the cause of this rebellion. It was such controversies as passed between Lovejoy and the member from Mississippi, in the House, that served to widen the breach of disunion (groans for Lovejoy). He had the mortification, more than once, to hear it stated in Congress that no slaveholder could be a Union man. His blood was old, but not cold, and he could not help but rise in his seat to give that assertion the lie direct (cheers). Eight-tenths of the men who were owners of slaves were Union men, unconditional and firm in their efforts to restore the Union to its wonted position. It had been said, furthermore, that there should be no union of the States until every slave in the United States was set free (cries of "Never, never"). Such was the language of two distinguished representatives from the State of New York—Foster and Sedgwick. [A Voice—"They disgrace the State; they misrepresent us."] They had been told there could be no union of these States while slavery existed; that though peace might come, there would never be a Union. There might if the Abolitionists would lay down their pens.

They have the institution of slavery in the South—he was not here to defend it, because he had not the disposition to do it—and they cannot get it away. The Constitution protected it, while the Constitution was preserved. What do they propose to do in Congress now? To take the whole negro population within the seceded States—within Kentucky, Missouri, Maryland, Delaware and Tennessee—and turn them loose upon society. After they have stripped families there of their substance, their horses, stock, money, credit of every description, impoverished them completely, the negroes are then to be turned free. Can such an idea be tolerated by honest men of any party? (Cries of "No no.") And yet that was the effect of the bill which had passed Congress, but which he hoped would not receive the Executive sanction. If God in his Providence would nerve the President to the act and guide his pen in writing his veto of such an Act, this Union would be preserved and restored as it was in less than six months (applause). If this Confiscation Act becomes a law and is put in force, no man in this house would live to see the day that this Union is restored again. You may see a government nominally held by individuals under the power of the bayonet, but you would see no freedom of action or thought or independence maintained. A Union to be preserved by the bayonet was not worth fighting for (applause).

One word more and he would close. These men who were at the head of this business from Yankee-chusetts (laughter) are cute men, as was evident by their trying to get pay for their insolvent debts; but they seemed to be utterly disregardless of the great interests of the people of the United States in their efforts thus to destroy the means of preserving three hundred millions of property. What was to become of your cotton-jennies and your mills in New England if the growth of cotton in the United States was destroyed?—and it would be destroyed if you destroyed the labor that produced it. The Yankee idea that these negroes, when turned free, would become willing hirelings in the cotton and cane fields of their former masters was perfectly fallacious. He spoke knowingly, like the man in Pennsylvania, who, when he was speaking upon the subject of a tax upon hogs, said that he understood that business better than anything else, because he was mixed among them (laughter). Destroy the labor of the South by emancipation, what would become of the commerce of the country? Where was the cotton to come from to supply the demands of commerce and keep in active motion the spinning-jennies of the North and the Middle States? The prosperity of the people of the free States depended upon the restoration of this Union, allowing the people of the different sections of the country to conduct their own business in their own way, as freemen under their own laws. Somebody had handed him up a paper; he was not responsible for it, but he believed it to be true, because it is very much like him. It began, "Henry Ward Beecher" (hisses and groans for Beecher). He would not read it; he would have mercy upon him (cries of "Read it, read it"). He wanted the war ended—didn't they? (Cries of "Yes, yes.") He wanted the Union and the Constitution restored—didn't they? ("Yes, yes.") Then go to work at your ballot-boxes; stir up the labor and the patriotism of the country to the work; but let them not, like the Southern secessionists, attempt to redress their grievances out of the Union, but like freemen, in the Union and under the Constitution (applause). Let none of them falter in the honest effort to remove the honest impression which their neighbors may have been induced to take about this matter, for the government would not be worth one dollar, so far as it related to the governmental power of this country, unless this Union was preserved and the Constitution maintained (applause). They might go on and conquer—as he hoped they would—the military power of this rebellion; they might fight battle after battle, and victory might crown their efforts, and the blood of their sons water the earth, but the youngest man that now heard him would not live long enough to see peace in the Union if these abolition measures should become the law of the land (great applause).

William Duer of Oswego.—There was at the North a conspiracy to destroy the Constitution, and overturn the Union: to establish a military despotism, by which a portion of the States of this Union should, by absolute power, rule the rest (applause, and a Voice—"They can't do it"). The great meeting over which Mr. Hamilton presided had put forth the doctrine that the conquered South should be governed as Territories (hisses). These Northern secessionists agreed with the Southern doctrine, that by secession the States of the South were put out of the Union (hisses). If they had a right to secede, and secession carried them out of the Union, Jefferson Davis was right, and the war was all wrong. Mr. James A. Hamilton was a citizen of high social standing and respectability, but it grieved him (the speaker) that a son of Alexander Hamilton should preside over a meeting of Northern secessionists and Abolitionists (applause). The Emancipation League was presided over by Wm. Cullen Bryant, an honorable citizen, and an honor to his country as a poet, but none the less a conspirator—for that League favored abolition. That League was addressed by Members of Congress who swore to sustain the Constitution—swore it not only every morning, but every hour and half hour in the day (laughter). Perjury was the corner-stone of Northern secession, as rebellion was of Southern secession. There were men in Congress who voted for the wholesale Emancipation and Colonization bills, and they were in league with these abolition conspirators (applause). Such men as Wickliffe, who in the midst of secession had fought for the Union, were denounced as secessionists (hurrah for Kentucky). He was not for suffering the leaders of the rebellion to escape. Some of them ought to suffer death. He hoped few, for history had never condemned any people for being lenient to conquered rebels. He would banish many, and deprive of the right of holding office many more; but, when it came to the masses of the people, he was for pardon (applause). No confiscation, no depriving the people of their property. Was there a tyrant in history who ever made himself so damned in posterity as to sanction a measure such as this Confiscation bill? (Applause.) We could pardon the masses, for our masses had been misled (applause). If any men were to be hung, the next man after Jefferson Davis would be Charles Sumner* (cheers, groans, and great confusion; cries of "Where's Greeley?"). If all could be hung who have guilt in their hearts—every man who has fostered sectional feeling—he feared there would not be a large population left (great applause). The object of the war was to restore the Union, not to make the people of the North and South hate each other (applause). All these attempts to get up hatred and revengeful feeling were for the purpose of putting an end to our Constitutional Union. If questioned as to their love for the Union, many would say with Greeley (groans and laughter), that they would obey the Constitution as far as they could conscientiously (applause). At one of the meetings of the Emancipation League they brought here Lane of Kansas, whose hand was imbrued with his brother's blood. And he was introduced by a reverend gentleman who seemed to regard him as the glowing sun. One of the pictures drawn by this sun was that of the slave-owners of the South hunted by their slaves. He hoped that Rev. Dr. Tyng (hisses) would believe that a man could be a Christian without adopting these border-ruffian doctrines (applause). How could they best counteract the efforts of the emancipationists? (A Voice—"Vote down the Abolitionists.") That was the proper name, for they were in favor of abolishing everything, and when they got through abolishing, they would hardly have anything worth having (applause). The Abolitionists were different from the Republicans (A Voice—"That's so"). He was glad to hear one assent, for he believed they would all say "No." How should this League be counteracted? Let all party be laid aside, let all unite as brothers to save our country from the hand of the fanatics (applause). He wished that the loyal men of Congress, Democrats and Republicans, would unite in a call for all the lovers of national freedom. Such a call would unite all such men as Van Buren, Fillmore, and Everett, and speak to the people as from the tomb of Washington (applause).

James Brooks.—We are told, fellow-citizens, that it is idle for us to assemble here to try to stop agitation, excitement, inflammation, upon, and about, negroes and the negro question, and that we are no wiser than the old woman who stood upon the Havre beach, and, with her broom, struggled hard to sweep out the waves of the Atlantic Ocean. There is something of truth in all this. There are men who live by, and trade and traffic upon, agitation; who are bubbled up, only on the storm of agitation, and whose phosphorescent light sparkles only as the storm ruffles up the surface of society. Never, never, do I expect to stop such agitation, such phosphorescence. It is a law of nature, that the man to whom work is distasteful, too lazy to labor, must quarter himself upon society, and live by social disturbances. The busybody is a necessity of existence as well as the working-body. Fanaticism is a part of human society, as much as the hurricane, tornado, tempest, wreck, ruin, are laws of the world's physical organization. Hence, all we must expect or hope to do is what Dr. Franklin did with lightning—conduct it off, on the prongs of the forked rod, safe, innocuous, to its natural subterranean regions, into that pandemonium where such explosive, destructive material has its house, its home. I know not how it is, but so it is, the Puritan element of Old England and of New England is ever the birthplace of storms. The true, the real, the born, the hereditary Puritan, whose blood has never been mixed with Catholic, or other Protestant—with Celt, or Teuton, or Gaul—is, on this earth, what the stormy petrel is upon the ocean—the sign, the harbinger, the minister, the witness—if not the breeder of storm.

The New England Puritan mind must have something to work upon. Massachusetts must, forever, and forever, be the cradle of isms, and ologies, and ites, as she ever has been. The Puritan element there must forever rock some cradle. The negro today is in that cradle, but to-morrow it may be some other pet, some other darling. All we can hope to do is, to change the negro baby in the cradle. Such changelings, fanaticism thus changing, such men, with so little stability of purpose or principle, we may, we can, we must, divert from these negro nurseries—into some other, simpler, better-paying, and less-socially damaging calamity. The only way to do it, is at the ballot-box. The moment the elections fail them, that moment the politicians will desert them. But never, never expect to be without agitation, agitation, agitation. If every [illegible] were transferred from earth to Heaven, the mere Puritan would on the instant become unhappy, in the pursuit of some other topic for agitation. The color of your hat might become as excitable to him as the cut of the hair was to his fathers. It is as easy to form parties upon the length of the petticoat and the width of the hoop as upon the Maine law. Bloomers, indeed, came near, very near, at one time, of laying the foundation of some great party. Our duty, fellow-citizens, is simple, constitutional duty: to uphold the Constitution and the laws against all who rebel against them in arms, moral, social, or political; to mind our own business, and to let other people's business alone; to attend to our own States, towns, counties, cities, families, and to let other people attend to theirs.

Fernando Wood.—We have come up here for a common purpose, actuated by a common principle, resolved to stand upon a common platform (cheers). Our position is one of hostility—hostility to every form of treason, wherever it may appear, or in whatever disguise it may assume—whether by armed rebellion in the South, or the no less dangerous treason taught by Abolition traitors in the North, or in our natural foes, the monarchs of Europe. Civilians though we be, we have a part to perform in the pending national crisis, no less momentous in its consequences than that now resting upon the army of the Potomac (great applause). The noble men gathered there have assembled to put down the enemies of the country in arms against it, while we assembled in like spirit have resolved upon the destruction of another foe more insidious and—less manly but equally repugnant to the stability of our institutions—an enemy who plots treason by stealthy inroads upon the Constitution, and who is hourly subverting the fundamental principles of the government itself. I know, my friends, it is said that this is no time to meet for popular discussion, that however good our object, the present is not an opportune moment to advocate it. Ah! be not deceived thus. Those who oppose free discussion are themselves either fanatical agitators, the Abolitionists, or too timid to contend openly for their individual or political rights (applause). It is always in season to stand up manfully for the right, and always opportune to strike for constitutional liberty (cheers).

Therefore, to the winds with all opposition to an agitation against treason. Let us openly contend for the downfall of Abolitionism—the repeal of the odious and unconstitutional enactments of this Congress, and for the restoration of individual and political constitutional liberty, for believe me that these are essential if not indispensable to the restoration of the Union.

WENDELL PHILLIPS.

Extract From Trollope's "North America."

It soon became evident to me that Mr. Phillips was unwell, and lecturing at a disadvantage. His manner was clearly that of an accustomed orator, but his voice was weak, and he was not up to the effect which he attempted to make. His hearers were impatient, repeatedly calling upon him to speak out, and on that account I tried hard to feel kindly towards him and his lecture. But I must confess that I failed. To me it seemed that the doctrine he preached was one of rapine, bloodshed and social destruction. He would call upon the government and upon Congress to enfranchise the slaves at once—now during the war—so that the Southern power might be destroyed by a concurrence of misfortunes. And he would do so at once, on the spur of the moment, fearing lest the South should be before him, and themselves emancipate their own bondmen. I have sometimes thought that there is no being so venomous, so bloodthirsty as a professed philanthropist, and that when the philanthropist's ardor lies negro-wards, it then assumes the deepest dye of venom and bloodthirstiness. There are four millions of slaves in the Southern States, none of whom have any capacity for self-maintenance or self-control. Four millions of slaves, with the necessities of children, with the passions of men, and the ignorance of savages! And Mr. Phillips would emancipate these at a blow; would, were it possible for him to do so, set them loose upon the soil to tear their masters, destroy each other, and make such a hell upon the earth as has never yet come from the uncontrolled passions and unsatisfied wants of men. But Congress cannot do this. All the members of Congress put together cannot, according to the Constitution of the United States, emancipate a single slave in South Carolina; not if they were all unanimous. No emancipation in a slave State can come otherwise than by the legislative enactment of that State. But it was then thought that in this coming winter of 1860-61 the action of Congress might be set aside. The North possessed an enormous army under the control of the President. The South was in rebellion, and the President could pronounce, and the army perhaps enforce the confiscation of all property held in slaves. If any who held them were not disloyal, the question of compensation might be settled afterwards. How these four million slaves should live, and how white men should live among them, in some States, or parts of States not equal to the blacks in number—as to that Mr. Phillips did not give us his opinion.

Selections.

AN INSIDE VIEW OF SLAVERY.

From The Norfolk County (Mass.) Journal.

AMONG THE PINES: or, South in Secession Time. By EDMUND KIRKE. New York: J. R. Gilmore.

This book deserves more than ordinary recognition both from the press and the public. Its vigor of style, graphic power of narrative, and dramatic arrangement of events, would give it note and popularity in any time, and before any audience. And when we add to this, that it is a most remarkable revelation of *facts*, and that these facts bear directly on our present national contest, and intimately affect the welfare of the American people, we give it an interest scarcely equalled by any work yet published.

We have accidentally learned some things relating to its author and the scenes he describes, which we trust we commit no indiscretion in giving the public. Edmund Kirke is the assumed name of a gentleman who was formerly a leading merchant in trade with the South, who did a business of over a million dollars yearly with that locality, and has at present a sum of money *permanently* invested there which would constitute a fortune for almost any one. He knows the South better than any man who has ever before written concerning it, being familiar with nearly every inch of the soil of four States there, and having passed many winters on the plantations of all these. Here he saw the *inside* workings of the institution, and gained a familiarity with it which no mere traveller has had it in his power to conceive of. He was not an Abolitionist. For the fifteen years which he spent among the planters, he saw enough to prevent his being a pro-slavery man, but he was disposed, during this time, to let them work out their own salvation, in their own way. The music of Fort Sumter woke him up. He couldn't handle a musket, but he felt that he could, at any rate, blow a bugle. This book is his first blast. He means that it shall not be without successors. He is not a "literary man," and has no literary ambition. All he aims to do is to contribute the facts which his remarkable experience has taught him to the nation's stock of knowledge.

He has a plan in what he is doing. He does not regard our contest as one so much between slavery and freedom as between two systems of labor. His plan of subduing slavery is by breaking down the dominant oligarchy of the South, who demoralize the white man no less than they debase the negro. He would educate not alone this latter class, but he would elevate the Southern whites who are not slaveholders. This he believes may be done by infusing among them a Yankee element; and he regards the proposed settlement of the South by Northern soldiers as the natural agency for this. On this subject of the poor whites, no book has ever been so thorough and explicit. Its daguerreotype of them is entirely faithful. And it is through these, that the slaveholders, taking advantage of their ignorance and debasement, have governed America.

The incidents of the book—startling and dramatic as they always are—are *true*. Not true in that they occurred exactly as there related. They did not transpire in the order here given them, and occupied a wider range of time in their occurrence. But *every one* of them actually happened, and came under the immediate observation of the author. This is the fact, to the minutest detail. There is abundant material in the book to confirm this, even if the high character is discriminated in it to the nicest shades of difference. No close observer can fail to believe that such portraits as he makes are drawn from originals. The dialect of the negro, the poor white, and the corn-cracker is each given with a careful consistency which only years of observation among them could have enabled the author to appreciate. Jim (the son of a white man) on ordinary occasions talks like a country negro house servant, but under excitement speaks almost like a white man; and it is an established truth that persons of mixed blood, when aroused, always show predominating the characteristics of the stronger race. Scip, a pure African, always talks and speaks in a high-toned, elevated manner (though he never gets out of the negro lingo), and it is a curious fact that the native African shows always, when brought in contact with educated whites, a higher order of character than do those whose fathers have had their souls crushed out by slavery. Old Pomp has the religion of a good old "nigger"—who gets an idea of the Bible thoroughly literal, and whose only conceptions of God are that he is a great good *man*, who can be approached and talked to by his children—the religion of the ignorant everywhere, but peculiarly that of the slave. Moye is a renegade Yankee—the meanest specimen of creation that God has permitted to exist. He is just such an overseer as certain editors not a thousand miles from Boston would have made had their lot been cast on a Southern plantation.

These are not the only characters sketched from life. Andy Jones, whose stump-speech we have given on our outside page, is a living man (yet, as we hope). The factor who convinced him that a Yankee is not a "cross between the Devil and a Jew" is the gentleman from whom we have obtained most of our knowledge of the circumstances connected with the writing of this work. Col. J—— is so real a sketch that he has been recognized, and a protest entered against making the facts of his life public. He is no longer living, and Madam P——, who is no less a real character, is now under the protection of Andy Jones. A very remarkable incident affecting her welfare is related to us by the gentleman from whom we have obtained the above facts. The Colonel's widow has lately attempted to sell Madame P—— to the brothel-panders of New Orleans. On learning this of Andy Jones, his Northern factor (who was at one time also a factor of Col. J——) wrote to the widow that in case she did not abandon her design, and at once give the octoroon her freedom, remunerate Andy for his care, and save her from present want, government should immediately be notified of $6,000 of her late husband's property, in the hands of his present New York factors, which would at once be subject to confiscation. Measures were taken to send this letter, through our military commanders in that vicinity, directly to Charleston.

We trust that what we have said will be sufficient to awaken the reader's interest in this very remarkable exhibit of Southern life. It is a book which should be read and pondered by every patriot. There has been no publication issued giving so intelligent, so fair, and so thorough a view of the effects of slave institutions upon the mutual relations of the races of men and classes of society in this country. In this it is invaluable, and here is a point where we all of us especially need to be enlightened. But the work has a positive attraction which supersedes the necessity of its perusal as a matter of duty. Read in fragments in a magazine, it has awakened attention and enchained the interest of readers as few books have ever done. And in its completed form, it is a work which will be read and remembered as more original and suggestive in idea and purpose, and more dramatic in execution, than any issue of the press since "Uncle Tom's Cabin."

ABOLITIONISTS AND SECESSIONISTS.

From The (Cincinnati) Presbyterian Witness.

The enemies of this first named class of citizens have, for many years past, been either slaveholders or their avowed friends and apologists. The late conduct of such as dwell in the South has so nearly fulfilled all—if not more than all, that the most zealous Abolitionists ever said of them, that their Northern friends are badly non-plussed to maintain even a show of consistency. In their extremity they raise the cry, that the Abolitionists are as bad as the secessionists! Suppose this were so, would it at all soften the reckless crimes of their old allies? To concede that secessionists are as wicked as the pro-slavery men North and South have declared Abolitionists to be—is to strip them by grant of the last virtuous trait. But who, we ask of common sense and honesty, can for a moment entertain the idea that a man who wishes to abolish the curse of human slavery is therefore wicked? If so, then Paul, who says, "Remember them that are in bonds as bound with them" (Heb. xiii. 3); and Isaiah, who commands "to loose the bonds of wickedness, to undo the heavy burdens, and let the oppressed go free, and that ye break every yoke," were the worst of men. So indeed must have been Franklin, Jefferson and even Washington; since they, like all other good men, wished to see slavery abolished; and the father of his country emancipated his last slave ere he closed his eyes in death. Nor can the first scholar, gentleman, or Christian be found (save a few modern desperadoes implicated in the crime), who, for two centuries past, has spoken or written on the subject, without condemning the outrage of chattelizing our fellow-beings. Can any one fail to see that this crying sin has brought upon our land all the horrors of civil war? In vain is it said that agitation was the cause—since to investigate—to feel and speak truth, is the solemn duty and the high privilege of all. Our Savior and his holy apostles did it, at the hazard of their lives. The fathers of this nation did it against British rule, though the cost was as great. Even pro slavery Democrats have discussed slavery more than any other subject for years past. Judge Douglas, at the head of the Northern party, was treated with the foulest indignities, at the capital of Alabama, because he maintained the people's right to oppose the introduction of slavery into our Western Territories. Who, then, we again ask, can be in favor of the things which are true, honest, just, pure, lovely and of good report, and yet not desire and labor for the termination of human bondage? All who do this are substantially Abolitionists, whatever may be the line in which their energies are directed. To call such criminals—as those fighting for the perpetuation of slavery and the falsehood of secession—is to call light darkness, and darkness light.

Nor can it long deceive such as wish to know the truth in this matter. Even in our border slave States, the sentiment is fast spreading and deepening, that the only tangible issue in our struggle is slavery *versus* freedom. The men who favor the Union and the war are now called, in these States, Abolitionists. Though not in favor of direct emancipation, they are in favor of measures, the result of which, if they succeed, must emancipate.

EMANCIPATION IN THE DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA

[In a recent number of *The Press*, a daily paper of Philadelphia, edited by John W. Forney, Clerk of the U. S. Senate, we find the following important testimony respecting the good results thus far observed in Washington from the immediate abolition of slavery. Not less striking is the description of the character and effects of slavery upon Southern society and the country at large.]

The emancipation of slaves in the District of Columbia was one of the most suggestive events of the age. It was an example and an illustration. The great idea of the past century, the idea which had associated and identified itself with our institutions, was at last tried by a practical test. Good results came from it; none of the evils dreaded and prophesied have been manifested. It was a simple measure of legislative policy, and was established amid great opposition and feeling. Yet it was succeeded by no agitation, no outbreaks of popular prejudice. The District of Columbia is now a free Territory by the easy operation of a statute law—by what enemies of the measure called forcible emancipation—and yet the District of Columbia is as pleasant and as prosperous as at any period of its history. There has been no negro saturnalia, no violent outbreak of social disorder, no attempt to invade those barriers of social distinction that must forever exist between the African and Anglo-Saxon [!]. It was said that property would depreciate—that there would be excesses and violences, that the negro would become insolent and unbearable—that the city of Washington would become a desolated metropolis—that negro labor would become valueless—that hundreds of the emancipated negroes would flock to the Northern States. We have seen no such results as yet; we know that nothing of the kind is anticipated. We have yet to hear of the first emancipated its accustomed way, with the usual supply and demand. We do not think a white woman has been insulted by an emancipated negro; we are confident that no emancipated negro has sought the hand of any fair damsel of marriageable age and condition.

Society is the same in Maryland and Kentucky. In accomplishing emancipation in the District of Columbia, we have shown the timid that their fears were but of the imagination, the mere prejudices of education. Slavery has been the cancer of the Southern social system. We employ an old metaphor, perhaps, but it is a forcible and appropriate illustration. It rooted itself into the body of Southern society, attacking the glands, terminating in an ill-conditioned and deep disease, and causing the Republic excruciating pain. It became schirrous and indurated. It brought disaster and grief upon them, and the sorest of evils upon us. It brought us blood and civil war, ruined commerce and desolated fields, blockaded ports, and rivers that swarm with gunboats instead of merchant vessels. It was tolerated as a necessary evil, until its extent and virulence made it incumbent upon us to terminate it, as such, or be terminated by it. The champions of this institution, not content with submitting to the toleration and protection of our great Northern free community, have made it the pretext for aggression and insult, and by their own acts are accomplishing its downfall. The emancipation of slavery in the District of Columbia was the necessary and natural result of the Southern rebellion. It is but the beginning of the results the rebellion must surely bring. The wedge has only entered the log, and heavy blows are falling upon it day by day.

PROGRESS OF THE COLORED PEOPLE.

From The Springfield Republican.

The common contempt of white men for negroes is born of ignorance and vulgarity. We recognize the antipathy of races as natural, and to a certain degree inevitable. This will always prevent the commingling of blood to any great extent, except where slavery prevails and one race is exposed to the unrestrained avarice and passion of the other. But the exclusion of a man from political and social rights, from the common means of development and happiness, because of his color or the shape of his features, is not to be accounted for by the antipathy of races. It takes advantage of that feeling, but the feeling is not responsible for it. Men of different races can live together in peace and the exercise of the mutual good offices which each man owes to his fellow, and as civilization and Christianity soften the manners and meliorate the characters of men, this vulgar prejudice which is made to cover and excuse the injustice and contempt of the strong for the weak will pass away. To suppose otherwise is to deny the power of Christianity and the possibility of a perfect civilization. The free negroes of this country labor under a great disadvantage in the odium which grows out of the enslavement and consequent degradation of the larger portion of their race. Yet no one who has watched the course of the colored people of the free States for the past twenty years can fail to be impressed with the rapid progress they have made. Excluded from many of the States by barbarous black laws, excluded from many of the trades and professions by the stupid intolerance of white men, thrust out even from most of the Protestant Churches—the Catholic Church has never been guilty of such unchristian meanness—they have nevertheless advanced in education, in morality, wealth and respectability, and in the New England and middle States they stand better in all these respects than some classes of immigrants from the Christian countries of Europe. They are taking the right method to win general respect, striving to command it by intelligence and character, instead of demanding it as a naked right.

We are led into this course of thought by looking over a single number of *The Anglo African*, a newspaper published in New York, edited by colored men, which, in intellectual vigor, good sense and manly independence, is certainly up to the average newspaper standard, and decidedly superior to some newspapers edited by white men whose most distinguishing characteristic is contempt of the negro. *The Anglo African* opposes the emigration of colored people to Hayti, Liberia or elsewhere. It insists that they have a right to a home on the soil they have enriched by their labor and blood, that they have a destiny to achieve here, and that they will gain strength by grappling with the difficulties in their way, and will eventually command respect and fair play as American citizens. We have no doubt of this. The educated negroes of this country may benefit their race elsewhere by emigration, but we do not believe there are any great inducements for them to emigrate for their own benefit, or that any considerable number of them will ever leave the country. It is well enough for the General government to help any such emancipated slaves as choose to go, but there is no prospect that the emigration will ever equal the natural increase, so that the colored population of this country is never likely to be less than it is at present. Whatever policy may be adopted by the General government, we have no doubt that this will turn out to be the fact—a fact so stubborn that no power can change it.

If this view is correct—if the four million of colored Americans are to remain in the country, and their children are to inherit with ours the common blessings of the Union—it is evident that we have an interest in their welfare. They cannot be oppressed and degraded without our suffering with them. We believe the negroes of the South are to remain there, and do the work, and the man is a very shallow reasoner who does not see that it is for the interest of the white men, the large majority of whom must always be laborers, that all work shall be honestly rewarded, and all working men obtain just treatment and proper respect, without regard to color or race. No laboring man can secure his full right to the avails of his labor, or his merited position in society, where any class of laborers is enslaved. It is this common interest of the white laborer in the welfare of every other laborer that makes the permanence of slavery in this country impossible, and assures its removal as soon as the people of the whole country come to understand the economical and social bearings of the slavery question. And this war is enlightening them very fast, in the South as well as in the North.

In the paper to which we have alluded we find the programme of a national exhibition of Anglo-African industry and art, to be held in New York through the month of October. The colored people throughout the free States ought to take an earnest interest in this effort. We have no doubt that they can make a creditable display, and one that will astonish the white men who think that negroes are only capable of blacking boots and serving as waiters. We think the colored Americans will demonstrate by this exhibition, if they go into it heartily, that they are fully capable of taking care of themselves and creating for themselves all the comforts and conveniences of civilized life, and that whatever man has done the black man may do. There is no way in which they can strike a more effectual blow at popular prejudice, and indirectly against slavery itself, than by such a demonstration of their capacities as men.

GOV. STANLY WAVING THE OLIVE BRANCH.

[Extracts of a Speech made by the Military Governor of North Carolina, at Washington, N. C., and reported in *The Newbern Progress* of June 21.]

You say your slaves are all to be emancipated. What course has the Federal government pursued thus far in regard to your slaves? When Fremont, Hunter, and Phelps issued their proclamations of emancipation, did not the President revoke them all? Has he not said over and over again that he had no constitutional right to emancipate the slaves? Has he not adhered strictly to the Constitution and laws of the country? Does he not insist that all the States shall be protected in all their rights? What more can be asked from him who is the President of all the States? Why, then, are we involved in war?

Much is said about the slaves coming into the Federal lines, and many complaints made because they are not promptly given up. Are they not in the confederate lines, and are they not used to build fortifications, and do the work of rebels, and in many instances used to man rebel guns, and fight against the Union? The Federal army can't make a business of catching negroes and delivering them up. They have come here to put down treason and a war which the rebels inaugurated. Sufferings must be expected, losses will be incurred—you must abide by events. The South is to blame for all of the disasters which may occur.

If this war continues, look at the consequences; see what has already taken place—see what must they are here; more continue to come. Should the war continue, and the Federal army is obliged to advance into the interior, then will the consequences be upon your own heads. Then your institutions, and everything you have and own will necessarily be in peril.

The people must move. Call your meetings in every County. Let your Convention know your wishes. Let trade be opened; let the blockade be withdrawn. Come and be restored to the inestimable privileges of American citizens? Have you not enough of war and misery? None of your rights have been invaded. The government stands where she has always stood. Will you refuse to come back on these honorable terms? If so, the war must go on. The Union must be preserved, though all the institutions in the South should be perilled, and all her property of every kind devastated. This Union and government is worth more than all the property of the South and the lives of all the rebels.

The South says the government desires to involve her in a servile war. Are there any armed slaves in the Union army? If so, where are they? Point them out to me. There are none to be found. Where, then, are the horrors of a servile war?

You complain of depredations committed by soldiers, and that they entice your negroes away, and tell them that they are all free. There are some black sheep in every flock. Things of this kind must be expected in times of war. The depredations of Federal soldiers are not to be compared with those committed by the rebel troops.

Mr Lincoln is no Abolitionist. He is the best friend the South has got. Look at his proclamation to Hunter. It is full of meaning. If you will not take these things into your own hands, you must abide by the consequences. Your ports and custom-houses can be opened in less than thirty days.

The Administration wants peace. The government did not commence the war. I am no agent of Abolition Generals. When required to be such, I will leave you, and return with a heavy heart. I will do nothing unbecoming a Christian gentleman and patriot.

Why did Mr. Lincoln send me? I did not vote for him. He knew that I was born among you, and would stand between you and all harm, and be able to suggest such terms as you could honorably accept. I come with the olive branch, and stand, for the time being, between you and the powerful armies of the Republic, whose onward march will sweep you under and necessarily destroy your institutions, when brought in contact with opposing forces. Soon it will be too late for you to accept of my honorable terms. Then events must be left to the harsh and cruel necessities of the justice which is vindicated by the sword.

After Hunter's proclamation, I called on President Lincoln and told him that, if a sweeping emancipation was the policy of the Administration, I could not go to North Carolina. He assured me that it was not, and that the Administration had no such power. I believe he is sincere in all he says, and that it is not his desire to distress unnecessarily any State, or deprive her of any of her constitutional rights.

Such is Mr. Lincoln—a man whom you have regarded with so much terror, and denounced so bitterly. He stands by the Constitution unmoved, and I do not believe it is in the power of any human being, or party, to turn him either to the right or left.

PROSCRIPTION OF NEGROES IN ILLINOIS

From The Washington (D. C.) Republican.

The three "negro propositions," which have just been separately voted upon by the people of Illinois, at the same time with the vote upon the new Constitution, were as follows:

That no negroes or mulattoes shall hereafter come into this State.

That negroes now in the State shall not vote nor hold office.

That the Legislature shall *pass* laws prohibiting negroes from coming to and settling in the State.

The city of Chicago gave about 2,000 majority in favor of the three propositions, while Springfield voted as follows:

For exclusion of negroes and mulattoes	1,929
Against exclusion of negroes and mulattoes	134
No right of suffrage or office to negroes or mulattoes	2,038
Right of suffrage or office to negroes or mulattoes	20
For laws excluding negroes and mulattoes from coming to or voting in this State	1,991
Against laws excluding negroes and mulattoes from coming to or voting in this State	60

We observe that some of our exchanges parade these votes, with the statement that Springfield is "the home of President Lincoln," although there is no evidence, or probability, that he interfered at all to produce the results stated. The most that can be said, is that these votes indicate the ostensible public sentiment of the city which he left sixteen months ago. We say, "ostensible public sentiment," because where popular ideas run in a particular channel, a large percentage of persons acquiesce in them without reflection, or from indolence, or from a fear of being singular, who would equally acquiesce, if quite contrary ideas prevailed. Votes which are too unanimous do not prove so much as they seem to prove.

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* *The Times* says: "This sentiment was greeted with the utmost enthusiasm by the audience. 'God d—n his soul—the d—d Abolition skunk,' and other characteristic expressions met our ear *upon the platform*; but to what extent such endorsement was carried in the audience we cannot say."

It is said, by residents from Illinois, that their existing laws against the admission of negroes are largely nullified in practice, and that in many places where everybody, apparently, joins in the hue and cry against free negroes in the abstract, the actual flesh and blood negro finds no difficulty in living and procuring employment.

Illinois was originally settled from the South, and was to all intents and purposes a Southern State, until its northern portion on the lakes began to be populated twenty-five years ago. The fashion of its early politics is not yet fully changed.

It being the policy and tactics of slavery, to inflame popular prejudice against the negro in any other form than that of a slave, it is not surprising that opposition to free negroes is so strong in Illinois.

But it arises wholly from the early and long-continued dominancy of the Southern element in the composition of its population, and not because a certain amount of black labor might not be employed quite as usefully in Illinois, as in New England and New York. Illinois, like all the far West, is deficient in labor, and especially in house servants, and would be better off to-day by an immigration of a hundred thousand of the people, the exclusion of whom has just been voted. A black laborer is prized in Missouri and Kentucky. He is just as valuable in Illinois, and is worth more in either State, when he is paid wages than when he is held to coerced labor. In excluding negroes, Illinois sacrifices material interests to a political hobby, but mankind do that so often, that it excites little surprise.

THE VOTE IN ILLINOIS.

From The N. Y. Evening Post.

We observe that the effect of the recent vote on the Constitution in Illinois is somewhat misunderstood by the press in other States. Besides the Constitution which was rejected, four articles were voted on separately, but not, as is frequently stated, with the view to their incorporation in the *old* Constitution. They formed parts of the new Constitution, and to make more sure the adoption of that instrument, its friends procured a separate vote to be taken on these four articles in it, which it was thought by them might procure its defeat if they were made an inalienable part of the instrument.

The whole Constitution having been rejected, it follows that the separate votes are of no consequence. As the present Constitution and State laws already proscribe blacks, the vote on the negro question makes no difference in their relations, and would make none, even if the new Constitution had been adopted.

GEN. HUNTER'S BLACK SOLDIERS.

WAR DEPARTMENT, WASHINGTON CITY, D. C.,
July 2, 1862.

SIR: On reference to the answer of this Department, of the 11th ult., to the resolutions of the House of Representatives of the 9th of last month, calling for information respecting the organization by Gen. Hunter, of the Department of South Carolina, of a regiment of "volunteers for the defence of the Union, composed of black men—fugitive slaves"—it will be seen that the resolution had been referred to that officer, with instructions to make immediate report thereon. I have now the honor to transmit herewith the copy of a communication just received from Gen. Hunter, furnishing information as to his action touching the various matters indicated in the resolution.

I have the honor to be, very respectfully,
Your obedient servant,
EDWIN M. STANTON, Secretary of War.
Hon. G. A. GROW, Speaker House of Representatives.

HEADQUARTERS DEPARTMENT OF THE SOUTH,
PORT ROYAL, S. C., June 23, 1862.
Hon. E. M. STANTON, *Secretary of War, Washington, D. C.*

SIR: I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of a communication from the Adjutant-General of the army, dated June 13, 1862, requesting me to furnish you with the information necessary to answer certain resolutions introduced in the House of Representatives, June 9, 1862, on motion of Hon. Mr. Wickliffe, of Kentucky, their substance being to inquire—

1. Whether I had organized, or was organizing, a regiment of fugitive slaves in this Department.

2. Whether any authority had been given to me from the War Department for such organization; and

3. Whether I had been furnished by order of the War Department with clothing, uniforms, arms, equipments, etc., for such a force.

Only having received the letter covering these inquiries at a late hour Saturday night, I urge forward my answer in time for the steamer sailing to-day (Monday), this haste preventing me from entering as minutely as I could wish upon many points of detail, such as the paramount importance of the subject calls for. But in view of the near termination of the present session of Congress, and the wide-spread interest which must have been awakened by Mr. Wickliffe's resolution, I prefer sending even this imperfect answer, to waiting the period necessary for the collection of fuller and more comprehensive data.

To the first question, therefore, I reply that no regiment of fugitive slaves has been or is being organized in this Department. There is, however, a fine regiment of persons whose late masters are "fugitive rebels," men who everywhere fly before the appearance of the National flag, leaving their servants behind them to shift as best they can for themselves. So far, indeed, are the loyal persons composing this regiment from seeking to avoid the presence of their late owners, that they are now, one and all, working with remarkable industry to place themselves in a position to join in full and effective pursuit of their *fugacious* and traitorous proprietors.

To the second question I have the honor to answer that the instructions given to Brig.-Gen. T. W. Sherman by Hon. Simon Cameron, late Secretary of War, and turned over to me by succession for my guidance, do distinctly authorize me to employ all loyal persons offering their services in defence of the Union, and for the suppression of this rebellion in any manner I might see fit, or that the circumstances might call for. There is no restriction as to the character or color of the persons to be employed, or the nature of the employment, whether civil or military, in which their services shall be used. I conclude, therefore, that I have been authorized to enlist fugitive slaves as soldiers, could any such be found in the Department. No such characters, however, have yet appeared within view of our most advanced pickets, the loyal slaves everywhere remaining on their plantations, to welcome us, aid us, and supply us with food, labor and information. It is the masters who have, in every instance, been the fugitives, running away from loyal slaves as well as loyal soldiers, and whom we have only partially been able to see, chiefly with their heads over ramparts, or with rifle in hand, dodging behind trees in the extreme distance.

In the absence of any fugitive master law, the deserted slaves would be wholly without remedy, had not their crime of treason given the right to pursue, capture and bring back their persons, of whose protection they have been thus suddenly bereft.

To the third interrogatory it is my painful duty to reply, that I have never received any specific authority for issues of clothing, uniforms, arms, equipments, etc., to the troops in question; my general instructions from Mr. Cameron, to employ them in any manner I might find necessary, and the military exigencies of the Department and the country being my only, but in my judgment sufficient justification. Neither have I had any specific authority for supplying those persons with shovels, spades, and pickaxes, when employing them as laborers, nor with boats and oars when using them as lighter-men, but these are not points indicated in Mr. Wickliffe's resolution. To me it seemed that liberty to employ men in any particular capacity implied with it liberty also to supply them with the necessary tools, and acting upon this faith I have clothed, equipped and armed the only loyal regiment yet raised in South Carolina. I must say in vindication of my own conduct, that had it not been for the many other diversified and imperative claims on my time and attention, a much more satisfactory result might have been hoped for, and in place of only one, as at present, at least five or six well drilled, brave and thoroughly acclimated regiments should by this time have been added to the loyal forces of the Union. The experiment of arming the blacks, so far as I have made it, has been a complete, and even marvelous success. They are sober, docile, attentive and enthusiastic, displaying great natural capacities for acquiring the duties of the soldier. They are eager, beyond all things, to take the field and be led into action, and it is the unanimous opinion of the officers who have had charge of them, that, in the peculiarities of the climate and country, they will prove invaluable auxiliaries—fully equal to the irregular regiments so long and successfully used by the British authorities in the West India Islands.

In conclusion, I would say, it is my hope, there appearing no possibility of other reënforcements owing to the exigencies of the campaign on the Peninsula, to have organized by the end of next fall, and to present to the government, from 48,000 to 50,000 of these hardy and devoted soldiers. Trusting that this letter may form part of your answer to Mr. Wickliffe's resolution, I have the honor to be, most respectfully, your very obedient servant,
D. HUNTER,
Major-General Commanding.

SENATOR BROWNING is a great fellow. He has made three speeches, if not four, against confiscation of rebel estates. They put me in mind of the fellow who set out to go from Squashville to Punkintown, and by accident got off the road. At last, seeing some landmarks which looked familiar, he stopped to inquire and was told where he was—neither in Squashville, nor yet in Punkintown, nor yet on the highway between those places, but making a fool of himself by going round and round the circular race course. There, in that hot July day, he had been urging his jaded nag from walk to dog trot, and anon permitting him to relapse into a walk again, till he had been round the course fifteen times, and not a rod nearer was he to the goal of his aspirations, the village hostelry and the whiskey punch thereat. Oh, Browning, Browning! What were you and Garrett Davis made for, unless to teach us new lessons of the emptiness of talk, and to render the otherwise useful *Congressional Globe* a nuisance and a pest in this beautiful world?—*Bost. Cor. Springfield Republican.*

National Anti-Slavery Standard.

WITHOUT CONCEALMENT—WITHOUT COMPROMISE.

NEW YORK, SATURDAY, JULY 12, 1862.

CORRESPONDENTS will greatly oblige us by a careful observance of the following directions, viz.:

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THE HOUR AND ITS DEMAND.

IT was a sad festival, the last celebration of the nation's birthday. The merry bells that rung in its hours and rung them out sounded to many hearts like the death-knell of loved ones, already fallen in the strife or yet standing on the perilous edge of battle. The cannon which welcomed the dawn and bade farewell to the sun were but too suggestive of the thunder-tones in which such brazen throats had announced swift death or lingering agony to thousands on the Virginian peninsula. We do not find fault with the attempt to withdraw the thoughts of the people from the present to the past for a single day; but we imagine that the attempt was not a very successful one. The Anti-Slavery Celebrations only were altogether appropriate to the occasion, for they have never been used to stimulate the vanity of the American people, or to bring oblations to the great sacrifice to their own glory which it has usually been made. The Abolitionists have ever used those holiday hours to rebuke the crimes of the nation, and to point out the only way of escape from the punishment which has come upon it. Had they been listened to, and had the American people applied themselves in earnest to the remedy of the disease under which they labored, they would not have been brought to the gates of death and the jaws of hell as they have been. But that is past now. We have nothing to reproach ourselves with, excepting that we have not been loud enough, in season and out of season, in our words of remonstrance and exhortation. Let us leave the past to bury itself, and look only at the living present and the impending future.

That the nation has been in danger of serious disaster cannot well be gainsaid or denied. That it was in danger of destruction, as some panic-mongers would have us believe, we regard as absurd. The manœuvre of Gen. McClellan of changing his position and making a new base of operations in the presence of the enemy, though planned and executed in a masterly manner, shows that he had been outnumbered, if not out-generaled, and that an unexpected advantage of the rebels, arising either from superior numbers or able handling, compelled an alteration in his scheme of action. Had any unlooked-for calamity interrupted the success of this operation and subjected his army to a defeat, which should make it necessary to fall back from Richmond to await reënforcements, the consequences would have been most grave. It would have given the pretext which our unfriends in England and France have been anxiously awaiting, for intermeddling in our affairs, and this could not fail to have complicated them in an unhappy manner. Not that the rebellion would have triumphed. Even with the help of France and England, the two leading nations of Europe, the rebels cannot compass that victory. If there be one thing more than another that the American people are resolved upon, it is that the domain of the Republic shall not be curtailed of a single inch, whatever it may cost to maintain such territorial integrity. We do not enter into the question whether this be wise or no. But we most emphatically affirm the fact, and appeal to the whole history of the last twelvemonth for confirmation of our assertion. A defeat before Richmond may involve a war with England and France, but it would not imply a recognition of the rebel Confederacy. There never was a war waged by a great nation against an insolent and unprovoked insurrection carried on with such lenity and long-suffering. Lenity and long-suffering passing far beyond the boundary which marks where a virtue sinks into a vice. This will not endure forever. The patience even of the government is fast becoming exhausted, and defeat at home and interference from abroad, would only hasten new measures and make them more stringent. And the world may be sure that respective lenity will be given to the winds, and the extremest measures resorted to, before the division of the Republic will be thought of.

That the nation was believed by its intestine enemies to be in danger is proved by the instinct of the obscene birds who have long preyed on the heart of the nation, which led them to believe that their time was soon to come again. The tone of the pro-slavery press—of *The Heralds* and *Journals of Commerce*, of the Boston *Posts* and *Couriers*, and evil fowl of the same feather—has expressed plainly enough that they believed that the Extremity of the nation was their Opportunity. Hence the meeting in this city, made august by the countenance of James Gordon Bennett, James Brooks and Fernando Wood, to see to it that slavery should suffer no detriment, let what would befall the nation. These sages assembled to inaugurate an agitation for the pulling down of agitation, and for the restoration of slavery to the throne of the country, which it had been rash enough to abdicate. Open treason and flat rebellion were loudly proclaimed as the alternative of a refusal on the part of the constituted authorities to make the war worse than useless, and the last end of this nation worse than the first. And this from men who were obliged to turn their coats northside outwards in the twinkling of an eye, a little year ago, to save their necks from the lamp-post! All this wordy treason is of no account, excepting as a sign of what the worst enemies of the country desire should come out of the crucible of battle. They would be crushed into annihilation were they to attempt to carry out their wishes by force of arms. And they have no real support in the slave country. Except in the semi-seditious Border States they have no backing. The States in rebellion ask no peace such as they would give them. They will take no such compromise as their officious servants here would negotiate. If defeated at Richmond, they will fall back farther South, and the war will be only adjourned, not ended. If ever a body of men showed themselves to be in earnest, it is the secession rebels, and Garrison himself cannot despise such untempered daubing as that with which the Cooper Institutionists propose to reëdify the breaches in our national sanctuary, more than they.

It was probably necessary that we should incur all this loss of life and waste of wealth to educate the nation and the government up to the height of this great argument, and to make them willing fitly to meet the awful issue of the hour. Of the hour in which the choice must be made between the dismemberment of the nation and the reconstruction of society in the South on the basis of Freedom. On that decision depends whether the United States shall remain in the front rank of the Great Powers—soon to be at their head—or to sink into a third rate one, leaving the rebellious States to the deeper barbarism into which they are sure to sink unless we interpose to save them in their own despite. We do not believe that there will be any hesitation as to the decision. There is but one compatible with national honor and the personal self-respect of all good citizens. The President has called for three hundred thousand more men, and we have no doubt that he will get them. But we think that the Northern men that offer themselves to this duty, and those they leave behind them dearer than the lives they risk for their country, will remember that there are hundreds of men at the South ready, willing and able to help them in this work, if not to do it for them. Gen. Hunter has vouched for the soldierly qualities and eagerness for service of the slaves of the Sea Islands. These are by no means the best quality of negroes, considered in the light of material for an army. That wise officer expresses his ability to raise fifty thousand men, or near that number, in his Military Department, if equipments be furnished him. Will the government suffer that mine to remain unworked, and to exhaust instead the already depleted resources of the North? Has not the experiment of coaxing and conciliating traitors in arms been tried long enough, and has it not cost enough? Perhaps it could not have been otherwise. The bonds of iniquity in which we had bound ourselves were too heavy, and the gall of our bitterness too bitter, that we should be rid of them at once. But a year spent without the development of any Union feeling at the South, excepting in a small section of the Border States where slavery is comparatively of small account, and with a fierceness of hatred going on from strength to strength as the fight has waxed hotter in the true South, must show a practical, common-sense people like ourselves that, even in a business point of view, and with an eye to the main chance, the only thing to be done is to destroy the rebellion by the destruction of its provoking cause, and the reconstruction of Southern society under the protection of Northern bayonets, and by the infusion of Northern capital, intelligence and education. Now is the accepted time. May our rulers b[illegible] to make it the day of our salvation!

ADDRESS OF WENDELL PHILLIPS,

Delivered before the Twenty-eighth Congregational Society, at Music Hall, Boston, July 6, 1862.

PHONOGRAPHIC REPORT BY J. M. W. YERRINTON.

We opened this house last fall in a season of great doubt, when the prospects of the nation lowered; we close it now for the summer with a cloud resting on the future of the nation's efforts. I propose to use the hour that you give me to-day in trying to find the reasons of this delay in what seems to me efficient action on the part of the government.

When Fremont crossed the desert to San Francisco, to open the pathway of empire to the golden State, he selected winter in order that he might know the utmost difficulties that the emigrant would encounter. When Fulton's steamboat first trod the waters of the Hudson, he selected the moment of utter difficulty, when the spectators doubted whether the wheel could move, to go below, rearrange the machinery, and make that efficient which at the moment proved [illegible] to defeat the experiment. Our institutions now are undergoing their first great radical trial. Hitherto, Democracy here has floated on a summer sea; no enemy near us; no internal difficulty that could stop even for a moment the onward march of the government. Now, for the first time, the experiment of the people's rule meets within its own bosom the great obstacle which threatens to discredit Democracy in Europe, which threatens to break asunder the territory of the nation, which threatens to discredit the method by which men are selected to guide the nation's action. I take this opportunity, therefore, to look into the machinery, to see where the obstacle is, what the weak point seems to be, where the difficulty exists.

Let us begin at the beginning. Every man has a right to a certain influence. Every man who thinks, is bound to have an influence. I think he should not only attempt to influence those about him somewhat, but he should remember the rule of Wilberforce, that a man is bound to exert all the influence that he can. He is not innocent if he leaves any single channel untouched. He is bound not only to accept what comes to him, but to plan thoughtfully how he shall best influence those about him. You and I are contented, sometimes, with the influence which this pulpit has had in the nation—with the amount of impression it has made upon the public mind; but at the same time it seems to me that we have not had—we whom this effort represents—all the influence, all the direct power, upon the nation's character and course that belonged to us, that we ought to have attained. I propose, therefore, to look for a moment into the machinery, and endeavor to define where the defect lies. I do not mean to belittle the religious and the intellectual influence of such an effort as this. The diocese of Theodore Parker extended to the Pacific. There are two kinds of influence: one Chinese—a man makes his imitator exactly what he is, as the Chinese artist, taking a cracked plate for his model, reproduces the whole set with a crack. That is one kind of influence—the least valuable. The other is the influence of methods, ideas. A man creates those who follow, not his exact steps, but his method; who accepts not his results, but his principles of investigation, his fearlessness of examination, his boldness of attitude. In a far city on our Western prairie, I found a leading member of a Western bar, a man of cultivated intellect, wide influence, decisive character, who, when he was married, bought all the writings of Theodore Parker. On Sunday, the leisure day from his profession, he either read one of the discourses which you have heard from this desk, or he went eclectically through the pulpits of the city seeing whether he and his wife could set up their public altar of worship in any hall. He went through every church of the city, and, judging by what he read at home, found none that gave him a resting place. At last, in a small hall, holding a hundred, he found a self-educated, energetic man, talking to fifty hearers, impelled by the inspiration of his own great heart. He did not agree with the doctrines of this desk, but he agreed with the *purpose* of this desk; and there, in that mighty floating population, the young lawyer, with his wealth, social position, professional standing, wide intellectual influence, placed himself by the side of the struggling talker, and over both the great hand of the Bishop of Music Hall was lifted, to create on the prairies of the West disciples who did not adopt his shibboleth, but who answered to the great spirit of individual independence, fearless investigation, utter protest against popular iniquities and [illegible] religion. That is the best influence which a man can wield; and that lonely grave at Florence still wields it, far West to the Prairies of Illinois and the golden regions of California.

But still, there are four kinds of influence. There is the social, the intellectual, the religious, and the political. The social influence is this: a man of fascinating, keen, brilliant intellect, and fair position, gathers the suffrages that make him potent from every source, from every quarter. His acquaintances value him by the reputation that the broad surface of society renders to him. He is not potent because he is admired in Boston solely; the reflection of his New York, of his London, of his Philadelphia, of his Chicago acquaintance, adds to the weight of his social position. The compliment which comes to a great speaker or to an independent man a thousand miles off, adds to the weight of his home hand. So there is an intellectual influence. This pulpit is not potent merely because it collects two thousand men within these walls of a Sunday; it is because Music Hall, to the farthest West, is recognized as the spot where unpopular truth gets an utterance, where hunted freedom finds an altar. The South dreads it as the vanguard of New England fanaticism. Its influence is not local. Every one of you feels stronger to-day because you know that the eyes of twenty States are on you. So take *The Tribune*. *The Tribune* is strong, not because of its corps of editors, not for its ten or fifteen thousand New York subscribers, but because it moulds opinions in Minnesota; because, when Wade speaks, he speaks with a constituency which the New York *Tribune* has moulded to stand behind him. When Lovejoy enters Congress, the constituency that sends him there was created by *The Evening Post* and the New York *Tribune*. There is no locality, there is no hemming-in of geographical boundaries, there is no close corporation in these things. Why do we listen to Horace Greeley? We know that when he speaks, a hundred thousand men listen, and that on at least a hundred thousand hearts his words fall with the power of a leader. The majority do not love to lead; they love to follow. There are very few men who love the labor and responsibility of thought. The majority love to have their thinking done for them. In a moment of leisure, in the mere play conflict of society, they maintain an opinion; but in the critical moment, when action is to rest on intellect, when a step is to be taken as the result of logic, when a great nation's fate hangs on his raising the right hand, every man shrinks from the responsibility. He says, "You lead—I follow." The majority love to follow. When such a man as Greeley speaks, why does the President go to hear him in Washington? Why does the Cabinet crowd the Smithsonian platform when he lectures, and leave Cheever and me unattended? Because, when he speaks, the great West listens, and on their hot hearts the trusted leader of the Republican sentiment pours the mature, the ripe conclusions which are to immediately result, or very soon to result, in national action. Such are the social, religious, and intellectual chiefs among us.

Now we come to politics—the close, direct influence on the nation's affairs. The political chief represents a geographical district. He is chosen solely by the voice of those who live, one may say, in sight of his house. Unlike the social, religious and intellectual chiefs I have named, the political chiefs, by our present system of election, represent a cut and squared surface of population. Let me explain. Mr. Lincoln stands hesitating to-day. Why? He is "Honest Abe"; he means to do his duty. I believe he honestly wishes that this convulsion shall result in the destruction of the slave system (applause). But Mr. Lincoln is not a genius; he is not a leader. It is quite doubtful whether, under Democratic institutions, a leader ever can be President. It is quite doubtful, under Democratic institutions, whether leading minds ever can fill the great offices of State. They certainly never can under the present system. Mr. Lincoln is not a leader; he is a second-rate man: he rejoices in being a second-rate man. His theory of Democracy is, that he is the servant of the people, not the leader. Like the Indian trapper on the prairie, his keen ear listens to know what twenty million of people want him to do; what their conscious, matured, recognized principles to-day demand of him to do. He stands asking, "What do you mean I shall do?" Ericson is a genius; and if the Union is saved, we owe it to John Ericson, not to Abraham Lincoln (applause); for, without listening to anything but the inspiration of his own genius, he sees the want, measures the void, and fills it. He is a leader, not a follower. Lincoln, selected by the present method of Democratic election, as I am going to proceed to show you, cannot be anything but a servant. What does he want to-day? I am going to take it for granted that he is honest; I am going to take it for granted that the Cabinet which stands behind him, according to popular report, is more than that; it actually leans, the bulk of it, toward the purpose of letting this convulsion preserve the Union by the method of making it homogeneous—basing it on freedom (applause). But of course the Cabinet, and the President too, are only the servants of the people; they listen to Congress; they heed the official voice of the people. Let me go into that a moment. What is, at present, the official voice of America? Democracy means this—the government of the people. Democracy, in its noblest and highest sense, is the government by the present mind of all the people. We are at present pluming ourselves on an experiment of Democracy. Lord Brougham criticises us as demonstrating "the failure of Democracy"; but he knows nothing of that he is talking about, for we have never had a Democracy yet. Not only has the great Southern Oligarchy hitherto smothered the tendency toward Democracy in the Northern States, which it now threatens to annihilate, but we have never had a Democracy even here. Let me show you what I mean. I am going to speak to you of the rights of minorities. I am about to try to unfold to you, in half an hour, what Stuart Mill has been urging in England for twenty years—the rights of minorities; and to show you that, I think, here lies the obstacle to the success of the North in this struggle.

We say in Massachusetts that the people govern. What do we mean? When you resolve it into the fact, "the majority govern," is what the politician will tell you. We go to the polls, and out of a million of men, if there are 700,000, who think one way, and 300,000 who think another, the 300,000 must yield to the 700,000 rule. That is the theory. Now look at the result. We will take 15,000 voters in a district; 7,000 of them are Democrats, 8,000 are Republicans. Many a district in this State is as closely contested as that. November approaches; the question is, "Whom shall we nominate?" Of those 8,000 Republicans, 3,000 are Abolitionists, we will suppose; men who agree with Fremont, with Hunter, that the path out of this war is emancipation. The question comes, "Whom shall we nominate?" They say to themselves, "If we nominate such a man, there are 5,000 of our own party who are not ready for that problem; he never can be elected. Whom must we nominate? We must nominate a man on a level with the lowest tier of our own party. We must nominate a man whose decisive opinions have never made an enemy. We must nominate a man whose radicalism has never been feared. We must nominate a man who believes the Lord Almighty owns the earth, but the devil must not be deprived of his half of it just yet (laughter). "We must not go too fast nor too far." And perhaps in that district there are 2,000 liquor sellers. They say, "You must nominate a man, one or the other of you, who agrees with us; if you don't, we, the small minority of 2,000, hold our votes irrespective of all opinions, pledged to this one interest." The consequence is, they nominate an eel; they nominate an artful dodger; they nominate a man who lives by whispering at Washington what it is death to him to have known at home; who is politically dead about the time he is equally well known in both places. He is elected. The 3,000 radicals vote for him—he is the best they can get; the 5,000 unpledged, neutral, non-committal, timid, cautious, hide-and-seek Republicans vote for him. Whom does he represent? He does not represent 7,000 Democrats; he does not represent 3,000 radicals. He represents 5,000 men who were never guilty of an opinion. Five thousand men, then, out of the 15,000 in that district, are really represented. This is not a very near approach to the government of the "majority." One hundred such men go up to the Legislature. Now, I am not exaggerating matters; you know it is true (applause). One hundred such men go up to the Legislature. Then comes up a test question—a stern, close, decisive measure. Sixty men vote for it; forty vote against it. It is carried. Now, how many men put that law on the statute-book? Sixty voters, each one representing 5,000 men. The whole hundred, according to my estimate, represent a million and a half; those sixty represent 300,000 men, and they govern. To-day, the grog-shops of Boston, that are open from Chelsea ferry to Roxbury line, choose your Mayor. To-day, the Border States, the most selfish and the most timid in the country, govern the country, because this Administration fears opposition more than it values support. We are not under the government of the majority, on our method; we are under the government of the minority, necessarily; and, more than that, by the working of our machinery, we are under the government of a minority of doughfaces; a minority of men who do not offend anybody, whose intellects are of the lowest type, whose moral convictions are at low tide. These are the men who elect Congressmen. Five Massachusetts members, elected by this method, voted down one of the best Emancipation measures of the present Congress. Sumner and Wade and Lovejoy and Julian are "happy accidents," as Alexander the First was on the throne of Russia. "Happy accidents"; but the great majority of Congress represent each 5,000 men without an opinion. President Lincoln to-day, when every hour is big with the fate of an empire, when every hour is risking the permanence of the Union, knows no other official representation of the popular sentiment of America than the Halls of Congress afford. The Halls of Congress, taking out those happy exceptions, by the very machinery of our government, represent the doughfaces of the North—the men without an opinion. Does any man here wonder that President Lincoln does not lead? He has actually gone ahead of the official expression of the public sentiment of the North. His Border State proclamation is an arrow's flight ahead of any official intimation to him of the public opinion of the North.

Now, dwelling a moment on our machinery, what is the remedy? Why, on Stuart Mill's plan, the remedy is in the minority being represented. That is, Boston is not to be obliged to choose, from its own citizens, a representative to Congress; Worcester is not to be confined, in choosing a representative, to her own inhabitants; but if 15,000 men in Massachusetts agree with Theodore Parker, in his lifetime, in opinion, they choose him, and send him to Congress. This is the plan, intended to furnish a Legislature that represents not a *majority* of the people as now, but the *whole people*. Then the majority of such representatives, who will really represent a *majority* of the whole people, speak for the nation and enact its laws. The plan is this. Having first settled who shall vote, suppose in any State there are two hundred thousand such voters, and the Legislature is to consist of fifty representatives. Each representative should stand for four thousand voters. Names should be announced, and then, all over *the State*, each man should vote according to a system whose details I will not here trouble you with; but whose result is, that no man enters the Legislature who has not received four thousand votes; and every voter would see in the Legislature a man *he voted for*. Four thousand voting Abolitionists, scattered over such a State, could have thus sent Parker or Garrison to the Legislature twenty years ago; and such voters, for years unrepresented, because in a hopeless minority, would have had a voice for the last twenty years in the Legislature. No limit of locality, any more than in *The Tribune*, any more than in the social influence. If Massachusetts does not like Charles Sumner, a million of men the Union over may send him into the Senate. It is no matter where the representative lives, it is no matter where the voter lives. Every man who goes into the House of Representatives must represent the same number of votes. Whether he gets them from Boston or Chicago, whether he gets them from Worcester or Syracuse, it is no matter. You and I might vote for Gerrit Smith. If there was any danger that Wade would not be reëlected, we might vote for him. If Caleb Cushing can get his number, he goes into Congress; if a radical reformer can get them, he goes into Congress. If there are thirty thousand men to-day who agree with Fremont, they send him to Congress; and if there are a million such, they send thirty representatives to Congress.

Common men often change a political idol; educated men rarely change an intellectual one. Senators and Representatives, elected for sake of their opinions by thoughtful, decided men all over the country, would certainly have the weight, and probably have the fixedness and independence, of members of a House of Lords; and thus, while approaching closer to the theory of Democracy, we should also secure one of the few benefits of a monarchy. Such a body of members would form, inside the Legislature, that base of resistance, that *point d'appui*, which is always needed in a Democracy to sustain an unpopular reform; which, with us, the Anti-Slavery cause has found for twenty years, in a body of men banished by their opinions and their conscientious scruples from the ballot box; which the Temperance enterprise has been so often obliged to find only in hopeless minorities banished from all office.

As things now stand, outside pressure is the only method of reform. The Anti-Slavery enterprise began in 1831. What did we do? We confined ourselves to the trenches; we made our public opinion. The moment we got strong enough, we went to the doors of the Legislature. For fifteen years, we stood there. I remember it well. Not a voice inside those doors agreed with us. We appeared before committees, we circulated pamphlets, we laid a tract on the seat of every member; but no man inside ever spoke for us. We waited fifteen, seventeen, twenty years, before we got so superfluously strong that we could send a representative inside. Now, suppose Stuart Mill's method had governed here—that every man who entered Congress must represent thirty thousand men who agreed with him; that any man, up to the number of three hundred, who could get thirty thousand men to agree with him, could go to Congress. Long ago, Theodore Parker could have got, over the broad surface of the Union, 30,000 voters to agree with him; and those great orations that were spoken from this desk from 1846 up to 1858 would have been spoken in Washington, with the whole nation for an audience (applause). The sight of one such man, accepted by the people, would have changed the opinions of those "waiters on Providence," who always go with the strongest; and instead of standing to-day with a North unready for the conflict, we should have had the deliberations of the House of Representatives and the Senate, from 1815 to '61, educating the people to be ready for just such a crisis as this. Instead of an outside pressure, instead of a Congress to-day that represents the men of no opinion, we should have a Congress that represents the utter and outside Democracy and the utter and outside Garrisonianism, face to face on the floor of the Senate and the House (applause). We need not say with De Toqueville—"Every government is always just as rascally as the people will allow," but we may ask what sort of a government we have a right to expect when the authoritative voice of the people reaches it only through such channels as I have described.

What does Mr. Lincoln need to-day? Mr. Davis of Kentucky, Mr. Holt of Kentucky, Mr. Wickliffe of Kentucky, get up and say to him, "Advance one step in the direction of Hunter, and the Border States leave you." The Administration trembles and holds back. A Republican rises. He remembers his constituency at home. Who sent him there? Why, men who are just saved from voting for Benjamin Thomas; men who are just saved from being deluded by the Boston *Courier*; men who are just saved from being carried away by the declamation of Mr. George T. Curtis. He says to himself, "I dare not put my foot down; I shall not be reëlected." What is it necessary for Republicanism to say to a Cabinet that fears opposition more than it values support? It is necessary that it should say to them, "Gentlemen, you have had fourteen months' trial; you want 300,000 men to-day; you want $150,000,000; you shall not have a man nor a dollar until you proclaim a policy" (applause). The Border State men say, "Put your foot there, and we desert you"; and the 1,600,000 voters that put you into office say, "Forbear to put your foot there, and we desert you" (applause). The moment that word is uttered, the servants of the people, the Cabinet and the President, will have light let in upon their minds as to the proper course to be pursued in this national emergency; but until then, the great mass of the national intellect which has been educated by this war, which has been educated by the twenty years previous, is not officially heard by the government.

I said, we have no genius in the government. I do not know a man, either in the army or in civil life, that can properly be considered a leader. They are all servants of popular opinion. Perfectly proper: I am not here to find fault with them, lifted as they are to their places by the method which has prevailed hitherto. Democracy in Athens meant a very different thing. The people voted. You could not keep Demosthenes from the sight of the people. Any man might ascend the platform, which was called the Bema, and make his speech. If he could carry the convictions of the multitude with him, the mass voted, and it was war with Philip or peace, as the crowning genius of the hour could mould the people to the purpose. But when on the prairies of Missouri Fremont speaks the magic word which is strategy and statesmanship combined, red-tape snuffs him out, and sends him home to do nothing. Jealousy and timidity block his way, and the only mind which seems to have the daming energy necessary for the crisis is put into the back rank, is overswayed and balanced by the representatives of the middle class that crowd official houses. Fremont's name is almost the only one of romantic interest in our annals. Most of our statesmen have only a working-day fame—hard and cold. His life speaks to the heart. Fatherless and poor, he springs even in youth to world-wide scientific renown; amid hair-breadth escapes and dangers more terrific than battle, his reckless daring opens to us a path over the continent—his soldierly skill and prompt decision give to the Union the golden State of the Pacific—always doing exactly the right thing, as if by inspiration, and always successful; a love match; untold wealth showered on him by happy accident; and then, born amid slavery, his name becomes to 1,200,000 sovereign ballots the representative of liberty and equality—a successful General on the outmost and most dangerous post, he speaks the talismanic word that would bring everything into order; then, as always, never finding a foe who dares look him in the face. Europe admires Democracy led by genius—all is sunshine till that hour. The ancients, when too happy, threw some prized jewel into the sea to propitiate the envious gods. A discrowned monarch lives twice as long in history as his successful rival. Charles II. in exile, Francis I. in captivity, are the most romantic names in their history. St. Helena does more to keep Napoleon in memory than Austerlitz. It needed the gross injustice in Missouri, the studied insult in Western Virginia, to plant Fremont's name deeper in the people's hearts. Let us hope that, like Charles and Francis, he may yet mount his rightful throne (applause).

It seems to me that what we need to-day, if we can compass it, is to approach the servants of the people with some intimation of the real sentiments of the masses. I do not believe that the majority of the North are ready at this moment to demand emancipation as the policy which is to guide the nation out of this war; but I believe Abraham Lincoln has secured that amount of confidence and admiration, that if he were to announce anything, the millions of the North would say, "Amen!" (Applause.) They have formed no conscious purpose, they have elaborated no exact method, they stand ready to follow. What they demand is a leader. We are to encourage the Administration up to taking the responsibility. Voltaire says, "All saints are cowards." The Whig party went to the ground because it had just so much virtue as to make it cowardly. The Democratic party was always bold. In the Mexican war, the Administration took Webster with one hand, and Winthrop with the other, and said, "Vote against this war for slavery if you dare! Remember the Federal party, that opposed the war of 1812; stand on its grave, and vote against the Mexican raid!" And they wilted (laughter). To-day, Republicanism in the saddle could say to the Border States and the Democratic party, "The sceptre of war is in our right hand; it is to be wielded by the blacks in favor of emancipation; vote against it if you dare!" (Loud applause.) Bad men have always used that logic of events. That is what the "logic of events" means. "The logic of events," what is it? It is circumstances calling into action the irresistible sentiments and passions of the human heart. To-day, the logic of events is, that possibly we may save the nation from English and French interference, because Illinois is full of wheat, and English harvests are very barren; because France starves, and the valley of the Mississippi is loaded with grain, and she dare not interfere. The logic of events is, that if England crosses the channel and then the Atlantic, side by side with France, the Irishman, who has hated England for two centuries, will love the negro, provided he can fight England at his side (applause). The logic of events is, that the moment Palmerston says Butler is infamous, the old Democrat, who hated Garrison, loves him, if, side by side with the "fanatic," he can only strike at England, whom he hates more. The logic of events is, Republicanism in the saddle saying to the halting Border States and the *Daily Advertiser*, "The war means Hunter and Fremont; vote against it if you dare!" (Applause.) But Republicanism dares make no use of the logic of events. It stands halting, timid, before the representatives of the minority. It believes neither in God nor in man. God, who hears the sighing of the prisoner, who is listening to the plaintive wails of the Port Royal song upon the Sea Islands, heard for the first time by Yankee ears, does not mean to tantalize those twenty thousand slaves with the sight of a freedom He does not mean to give them in reality,—God it believes not, nor man, who stands at the North ready to obey God in this order of his Providence, and go down to give his right hand to the victim. Republicanism at Washington, that believes in neither, is carrying us onward, while time is the only element of success. Let us wait until November, until January, and England and France are anchored in New Orleans and Charleston to say, "These States are independent." Then the North is not to yield at once; oh no; she will pour out her millions of money and her thousands of men to recover, possibly, her territory to the Gulf. But that is a doubtful problem. To-day, Jefferson Davis is doing less to break this Union by his armies at Richmond, than Lincoln by his Cabinet policy and delay in the city of Washington (applause). The Administration evidently is very ready to do anything, to go anywhere the people *demand*; not ready to lead where the people are evidently ready to follow. Fremont and Hunter in the field, Sumner, Wade, and their comrades in the Senate, are the only ones ready to interpret the people's instincts into action; that is what constitutes a *leader*.

We are paying to-day the enormous penalty of millions of dollars and thousands of lives for that bad system of government, miscalled "Democracy," which necessarily gives us second rate, non-committal men for Presidents and Senators. We pay dear to-day for having, as President, a man so cautious as to be timid—and so ignorant as to fear the little near danger more than great danger further off. But the people's instincts are right. They grope their way toward some one whose quick and bold genius will interpret for them their now dumb wishes. They *feel* that Emancipation is the only thunderbolt which can crush rebellion and save the Union. In vain the mongrel curs, who have mobbed us for years, bark, out of their still unbroken collars, "Save the Union and crush the rebellion—*then* settle *these minor questions*"—the silent millions see the transparent cheat.

This war really began when the disastrous compromise was made in 1787. Then, slavery began to bind Samson with green withes. What cripples McClellan to-day is, that his fathers, in 1787, bound one of his hands, and left him only one to fight with. What shows Fremont's courage and statesmanship at once is, that the first use he made of his sword was to cut his own hands loose for the conflict. Thieves break in and bind the master of the house, hand and foot, then go down to pack up the plate. Some one proposes to find means to cut the bonds: "Don't trouble me with *minor questions*," cries the struggling man, "let me get those thieves out first, and then I'll attend to cutting myself loose!"

The Great Eastern lies rudderless on the sea. Towle proposed to rig a helm. "Don't worry about *minor matters*," cry the stupid passengers, "only get us ashore, and then you may repair the ship." A frigate, gaping in all her quarters, is filling rapidly—the captain proposes to set to work, and stop the leaks. "Oh, no fuss about 'these little things' now; get us safe into harbor, and then you may carry your ship into dock, and make her tight." Such stuff cheats no Yankee—seems plausible only to those who go about asking to be deceived. The only doubt is, will the people's *willingness* to be led in the right path find leaders before it is too late to save the Union? What we want is to impress the Administration with the belief that the North is ready to have her government mean Liberty. I have no doubt of the result for the negro. His liberty is written in the book of fate; the leaf that records it is already turned over. I know it (applause). Why, Mr. Curtis might as well declaim against the east wind, so dangerous to weakened lungs, or Indian corn, so fatal to fevered systems, as against New England character and purpose, out of which has grown the Abolition enterprise. When our fathers planted free schools, they planted opposition to slavery. Thought never rests while there is anything wrong in front of it. A Yankee is never satisfied while there is anything clumsy in mechanics or erroneous in morals within his reach; and the man who planted free schools and pulpits, and made us what we are, made New England as irresistibly and inevitably Abolition, as now and forever fatal to wicked systems, as east wind and Indian corn must be to fever and consumption. Our questioning brains, impatient that their ideal perfection is not reached, toss and fret till the evil is probed, opened and cured. Like our salt sea, it eats and eats into opposing rocks till it finds no opposite to consume. Xerxes' chains on the sea were exact types of parchment contracts laid over such blood—reasoning with such a tendency. Now, there will be no danger from this. When the angels scaled heaven, Milton tells us the ethereal substance threw off the stain. New England, for two hundred years, has lived under the dominion of ideas; she has been elaborating thoughts, she has been weighing morals, she has been dividing ethics. The slave system crossed her path; she weighed it, marked it infamous, and nailed it to the counter. Now this war attacks her for having done it. The angels might as well scale heaven. War is only the tempest, the thunder storm. This pulpit, this book (the Bible), the press, are morning and evening, sunrise and sunset, seed time and harvest, sunshine and soil. We must conquer here at the North. No barbarous and brutal South can permanently hurt or affect such a New England:—

"———could she break her way
By force, and at her heels all hell should rise,
With blackest insurrection, to confound
Heaven's purest light; yet New England,
All incorruptible, would on her throne
Sit unpolluted, and the ethereal mould,
Incapable of stain, would soon expel
The mischief, and purge off the baser fire
Victorious."

This is sure; it must be so. It is written in the plalosophy, in the natural and essential character of twenty million of brains, that we of New York and New England and Illinois must give character to this continent. I do not doubt that. Give me time, and I know the brain of New England will inform the whole sluggish system of Carolina and Mississippi. But the question to-day is, whether, in order to hold on to that territory, we shall do justice to the negro; and Lincoln's pause of an hour makes it perilous and doubtful. Napoleon failed in Russia, because he would not accept the serfs who offered to fight for him if he would free them: Too friendly to Alexander to accept, he was beaten. I was a Unionist sixteen years. The Abolition enterprise started in 1831. We said, until 1846, "It is possible to save the Church and the Union, and still emancipate the slave." We labored—maligned, calumniated, misrepresented, ostracised from society and the ballot box—for sixteen years. We then said, "It is vain; over the ruins of the American Church and the ruins of the American Union is the only exodus for the slave." From 1846 to '61 we preached that lesson.

We said, there is not virtue and intelligence enough in the North to save this government from the Oligarchy that is eating it up. 1861 came, and in April, the gun resounded from Sumter, and the whole North started to its feet. We said, "We were wrong. The North is not cankered and dead; it is alive. Bound with the withes of sectarianism, confused by the petty issues of politics, we mistook the time; the heart of the people is still right for Liberty and for Union"; and we said, "All hail the government that leads it to Freedom!" (Applause). United government, once, was the bulwark of slavery—now, Union can only save itself by Freedom: supporting it, we do our duty to the negro. Fourteen months, until to-day, we have given that government our confidence. We have supported it with every moral influence that was within our reach. We have said, "We wait for you to wake up to the lesson of the hour." To-day Europe watches us with her aristocratic anxiety to break the Republic in pieces. To-day, France, with one foot planted in Mexico, plots for a weak neighbor that cannot hem in her aggressive designs. To-day the news goes to England, floating midway, that we received such a defeat at Richmond that the government dared not trust the people with the news. On the basis of that impression, the next steamer is to carry to England the call of the government for 300,000 more men. What is the impression made upon Europe? The North is standing at bay. She finds herself unequal to the contest. The President finds no moral strength. He dare not mingle in the conflict of bullets the stronger element of the *morale*. He dare not let loose liberty for the victim race, and the gratification of the longing of the Northern conscience to be consistent with its own principles. He dare not put an idea behind his rifles. With that conclusion, how soon will Europe interfere? And if she does, the long vista of a seven years' war is before us. The South, that held us at bay alone, is to have the eagles and the lilies united to its bars, and where is the Union? If it is saved, John Ericsson has saved it. When Hunter gathered the blacks into one room at Port Royal, and said, "Every man that wishes to fight, hold up his hand," a forest of hands went up, and he said, "Some of you would hold up four hands, if you had them?" "*Yes, massa, if we had them*" (applause). If the Union is to be saved, it will be by our holding up both hands, using every channel of influence, every method of impression. Why, even Wade and Sumner, as politicians, cannot dare to take the place which Davis and Bell occupy to day; with Massachusetts behind them, cannot say to the government, "Do so, or you have not a dollar." There must be a power at the North that shall say it. If madmen in New York, and jaundiced editors here, can say, "The Congress that looks at the negro needs only a Cromwell to turn it into the streets," we know it is the voice of men who love and serve slavery in their hearts. Let us always believe that "Liberty is possible," remembering that poorly planned republican institutions are better than the despotism of the sword, since they at least have vigor enough to cure their own defects.

Doubtless, if the Long Parliament had done its whole duty, Cromwell had never interfered. Possibly, if our government neglect its duty, some of our impatient successors, looking back on a lost Union, will lament that no Cromwell interfered. What wonder if a Union, planned by fathers who dared not trust God that to do justice was safe, should be lost by sons crippled by the same infidelity? Yet if, in the providence of God, this Union is to be broken in pieces, let us remember that even such a failure in the experiment of self-government will be a beacon to light the people on in their path to Liberty and Equality. But the record is still open. If we do our duty promptly, fearlessly, the struggling wish of the people may yet find a voice in the Halls of Congress, and an arm in the Executive, bold and decisive enough to save the Union. May this sublime uprising not be too late and in vain! May that talismanic word, proclaimed at the head of our victorious arms in Missouri, and echoed from Port Royal, sound from the Capitol, to avert foreign interference and crush rebellion!

FREEDOM IN DELAWARE.

WILMINGTON, Del., July 4th, 1862.

To the Editor of The National Anti Slavery Standard.

I THINK such public utterances in behalf of the Union, and of freedom, have not often been made in this State as to-day. Indeed, more outspoken truth shall scarcely be made this great day anywhere, concerning our national affairs. Delaware is almost redeemed in my eyes. From this day I shall count her a free State.

This morning a large audience gathered in the Central Presbyterian Church, for a patriotic celebration. National hymns were sung; the Declaration of Independence read; speeches made; prayers offered. The house was decorated by many national flags; a flock of girls, bearing small flags, filled the platform; and the whole affair was one of much enthusiasm. Edward Bradford, Esq. (who, I am told, will be a candidate to fill the place of the semi-rebel Bayard, at the next election for Senator), delivered a speech of rare force and power. In it he announced distinctly, not only that the dogma of secession is an awful political heresy; but, also, that freedom for all races, under our Constitution, is a cardinal truth which will duly be wrought out.

At twelve o'clock a crowded assembly met in the Institute, to witness the presentation of three regimental flags to the Delaware regiments. Representative Fisher received the flags in behalf of the regiments, and replied in an eloquent manner. He rebuked, with withering scorn, all traitors. The audience frequently cheered to the echo.

I called, a day or two ago, without the formality of an introduction, upon your good *friend*, Thomas Garrett. God bless him! I was ready, while looking into his hearty, honest face, and listening to his brave good words, to believe in the dogma of apostolic succession, and ordain him priest, yea, pope, in the holy catholic church. Priest he is, too, and that without water-baptism, eucharist, or laying on of hands; priest, unlike the orthodox fellow that passed by on the other side, ever helping men who have fallen among thieves: priest, ministering always at the altar of humanity: priest, more truly ordained of God, in his unfrocked and unanointed Quakerism, than are some in their begowned and bedeviled churchism. Understand me, dear Editor. I believe in churchly ordinances, for they are necessary to me, though they were not to many generations of my Quaker ancestry; but, I also believe that religion is superior to ritualism, and practical piety to polemics. Therefore, I honor and love, as the truest ministry in Christ's church, a life like that of Thomas Garrett's. He is one of the earliest, and the bravest, defenders of the anti-slavery cause. He has endured reproach, loss of property, toil. He has aided two thousand three hundred and nine (I saw the figures in his note book) fugitive slaves to escape! It will be easy to write his memoir: upon the first page, blazon his name, upon the last, this fact.

Last Sunday I visited the colored Sunday School, at St. Andrew's Church. Rt. Rev. Dr. Lee is superintendent, and Miss Anne Semple (one of the noblewomen by God's patent of grace) has charge of the infant department. Dr. Lee, showing me the school, remarked that he regarded it as important work. The school is large and flourishing. The Bishop, with his sweet, gentle manner, and earnest evangelical spirit, reminded me of that Good Shepherd who seeks the lost sheep. He is favored in teaching them to read, as the law of this State does not forbid it. Some have not been so lucky in Virginia!

There are at least two newspapers which are brave champions of human freedom in this city, the Delaware *Republican*, and *The Journal and Statesman*. Listen to what the first says, in an editorial of its latest number: "Every Christian people on the globe, with one or two exceptions, are opposed to slavery." That's the key-note of more that follows.

Verily, we shall live to see the day when the diamond State shall take her place among her free sisters. Some day, too, shall all men learn human brotherhood. God speed that millenial day! C. D. M.

Our Washington Correspondence.

WASHINGTON, July 7, 1862.

WE are set back six months by the disaster at Richmond. Unless the Administration has the courage to inaugurate a new policy, to appoint new men to places of responsibility and power in the army and out of it, we now see the end and the upshot of the war. The Richmond battles will have settled the destiny of the South. The whole future this day lies in the hands of the President. Has he the courage, the will, the administrative ability, to save the nation?

For one, seeing and knowing many things here which it is impossible to print in the newspapers, I will continue to hope for the best, yet, at the same time, it is impossible not to fear the worst. There is a lack of vigor, of decision of character, in the government, that discourages one. No adequate steps have yet been taken to retrieve the late disasters. It is a well-known and admitted fact that the flower of Beauregard's army was at Richmond. Have we brought on a man from the West to block this rebel game of the concentration of their troops in Virginia? Not a man. Even Buell's division, that was ordered to clear out East Tennessee and come into Virginia by the Southwestern railroad, is lying still, or was quite recently, at Tuscumbia, in Alabama. Gen. Halleck is scared because the enemy is making a few demonstrations along his line. Of course, having withdrawn many of their troops from the West, it would be the policy of the rebel leaders to keep up a big show of a large army by just such demonstrations to prevent the concentration of troops on our part in Virginia. It is more than a week since the government heard of the defeat at Gaines's Hill, and by this time 25,000 troops might have been spared from the West, 15,000 from here, and 10,000 from Burnside. Here is a total of 50,000 troops. With such reënforcements Richmond could be instantly taken, the James River opened, and two gunboats would then hold it. A sudden, brilliant movement of this kind would put an end to foreign intervention, and give us a splendid victory. But we have no Generals in command who will do any such thing—the government is incapable of such rapid concentration, or of the decisive energy necessary to retrieve the disaster, except by the slow process of time and by fresh enlistments. The rebels *can*. *They* show energy. While we are sleeping they will compel us to acknowledge their independence. I repeat that the danger—the vast, overwhelming, imminent danger—is in the indecision of the Administration. It should *have a policy*, instantly, and proclaim it to the world. It has none whatever. It should attempt to retrieve the recent disasters by fresh combinations of troops. Any one can see that. But it has not—it does not—I fear it will not. McClellan cries out for reënforcements. But few go to him. If the government has no confidence in him as a General, why does it not remove him? A few days since, the following prediction was uttered to Mr. Lincoln by one of our shrewdest men: "You stand still and do not attempt to strike a blow at the enemy. You act purely on the defensive for the next three months—perhaps longer. You do not bring troops here from the West. Now, let me tell you what will be the result. The rebels will not imitate your policy. *They* will move on with rapidity. They know that McClellan will not advance a step for the next three months. In the meantime, they will spare fifty thousand men for an attack on Washington or Baltimore, and by attempting to do half-a-dozen things at once, you will lose all."

You will not fail to have noticed one singular fact—that our disasters commenced with the decision of the President to revoke Hunter's emancipation order. I know that it is a dangerous method to endeavor to connect cause and effect in this way. I do not pretend to express the opinion that our disasters are the result of the decision of the government not to give freedom to the slave, but it is a singular circumstance, and men who are accustomed to see the finger of Providence in every event, however small, will not fail to see the hand of God in these disasters.

Washington is full of gloom. It seems to me that there is a deeper dejection than that which followed Bull Run. Then we were at the beginning of the war—now we have an enormous debt on our shoulders. The worst feature of the case is the fact that after a year's preparation—twenty million to ten—and with a magnificent army, *we have been beaten*. Yet Mr. Lincoln seems to think that without a change of Generals, without a change in the Cabinet—without a change of policy—he can raise a new army and whip the enemy!

I am glad to notice in Congress, and it is also true of the Administration, a determination, strong, almost fierce, *to put down the rebellion*. This shows perseverance and pluck. We need brains beside. There should be administrative ability as well as blind courage. With proper management the rebels may be driven from Richmond before July comes to an end. But something will have to be risked. Pope cannot now act in conjunction with McClellan. It is simply impossible. So long as the Army of the Potomac occupied its old position he could, for he could then easily reach McClellan's right flank. Now all operations will have to be distinct and independent of each other. Pope says he can do nothing in the present condition of affairs.

There is a very general dissatisfaction here with the concealment, on the part of the government, of important news from the people. As I understand the matter, Gen. McClellan, on Friday night, after his right wing had been beaten or driven back at Gaines's Hill, telegraphed to Mr. Stanton that he had met with a "serious reverse." He did the same to Com. Goldsborough, at Fortress Monroe, and asked him to coöperate with the army, as he intended to change his base of operations and swing round upon the James River. McClellan did not hesitate to avow that he had met with disaster. The government concealed it.

The story of the transaction is this, as I have heard it on respectable authority, that Mr. Seward objected to the publication of the disastrous news—that he proposed a cunning plan for effect in Europe, to prevent or postpone intervention. His plan was to go instantly to New York, and draw up a letter purporting to be from the Governors of the loyal States, asking the President to call out 300,000 new troops. He then telegraphed to all the Governors, asking their signatures to the letter. All gave it but Andrew of Mass., who did not wish to sign till he could see the document. The Wednesday's steamer carried out the letter of the Governors to the President, and his call for 300,000 more troops! Nothing certain had yet got into the newspapers. Europe would notice the call for new troops—would notice the fresh determination of the American people to put down the rebellion—and would *not* discover much of what had occurred at Richmond. The important thing was to make the first impression ourselves upon them, and then they would be prepared for the news of disaster. This, I presume, is the whole cause for the exceeding reticence of the government. It is a fact, however, that the War Department got few details of what had occurred. It *did*, however, obtain a dispatch from Gen. McClellan, a few hours before the telegraphic communication was suspended, stating that he had met with a reverse. This fact was concealed for almost a week. Now, what think you of this style of statesmanship? We shall have to call it *the Seward style*. Is it real statesmanship, or simply low cunning? I will not undertake to answer. I do not doubt, however, but Mr. Seward meant to do the very best thing for his country, and in consenting to it the President and the Cabinet members had the same honest motive.

But what is done is done, and we have now only the present and future. The past must be retrieved and it will be retrieved, unless the government is made up of the most inefficient and stupid men the country can afford. There can be no question about it. We *must* triumph. Even if we were to separate, the Slave Power must be humiliated. We could never live in peace with a neighboring slave republic after it had beaten us on the field of battle. Can we *ever* live in peace with the South till slavery is abolished? If not, the sooner the work is accomplished the better. The President thinks we can, provided the institution gets a heavy blow, one that will stun it and *eventually* kill it. Perhaps he is right, but recent events show that *somebody* connected with the government is not to be trusted.

As I close, I hear that the President will make no changes in his Generals, Cabinet, or policy. The thing is to go on after the old fashion; and I fear the nation is to be left to drift to destruction. Imbecility in the management of the war will be the cause of our final defeat—if we are defeated, which may God prevent.

AVON.

Proceedings of Congress.

PROSCRIPTION OF BLACK MEN.

In the Senate, on the 2d., a bill relating to the Judiciary being under consideration (providing certain rules in regard to State laws being regarded as decisions in common law in the U. S. Courts), Mr. Sumner moved an amendment that no evidence be excluded on account of color. The motion was rejected by

Yeas—Messrs. Chandler, Collamer, Foote, Grimes, Harlan, Harris, Howard, Howe, King, Lane, Morrill, Pomeroy, Sumner and Wade—14.

Nays—Messrs. Anthony, Browning, Clark, Davis, Dixon, Fessenden, Foster, Hale, Henderson, Kennedy, Lane of Indiana, Nesmith, Powell, Saulsbury, Sherman, Simmons, Stark, Ten Eyck, Willey, Wilson of Missouri, and Wright—21.

THE ARMY OF THE POTOMAC.

In the Senate, on the 7th, Mr. Chandler (Rep.), of Mich., offered a resolution that the Secretary of War furnish the Senate with copies of all orders of the Executive to Gen. McClellan relative to the advance of the Army of the Potomac on Richmond, and all the correspondence between the said Gen. McClellan and the Executive, from the date of the order of the 22d of February to the advance on Manassas up to May 1; also a statement of the numerical force of the Army of the Potomac, as shown by the roll in November, 1861, and in January, February and March, 1862; also the number of troops Gen. McClellan took from Fortress Monroe, the number at the Fortress, and the reënforcements sent to him up to June 1, 1862.

THE EMANCIPATION BILL.

In the Senate, on the 7th, on motion of Mr. Grimes (Rep.), of Iowa, the bill supplementary to the act for the release of persons held to service or labor in the District of Columbia, was taken up and passed. One section extends the time for making claims and producing evidence in the case of masters who are officers in the army and navy, infants, wives, and idiots, in conformity to the suggestion of the President in the Message accompanying his signature to the act. Another section enables the freedman to procure a certificate of freedom in cases where the master has refused or neglected to procure it for him; and still another section authorizes negro testimony to be introduced on the same footing with white testimony before the Emancipation Commissioners. The bill having subsequently passed the House, it only wants the signature of the President to become a law.

PROVISIONAL GOVERNMENTS FOR REBEL STATES.

In the Senate, on the 7th, the bill to provide provisional governments in certain cases, was taken up. Mr. Sumner (Rep.), of Mass., moved to amend the bill in reference to the legislative powers conferred, where it says, "there shall be no interference with the laws and institutions of the said States, but they shall remain the same as before they attempted to throw off their allegiance," by striking out the words "laws and institutions," and inserting the word "Constitution." He cited several laws of the State of North Carolina against the education of slaves, etc., as laws which ought not in any way to be sanctioned or enforced by the General government. He afterwards modified his amendment so as to strike out the word institutions, leaving the word laws.

An excited discussion followed, Messrs. Ten Eyck of N. J., Trumbull of Ill., Powell of Ky., Harris of New York, Cowan of Pa., Carlile of Va., Wilkinson of Minnesota, and Davis of Ky., taking part. Mr. Ten Eyck was wholly opposed to the bill, Messrs. Powell and Davis denounced it as unconstitutional, and Mr. Cowan talked in his usual foolish fashion about conciliating the South. The only way, he said, that the Union could be restored was that every part should enjoy its rights. In any other way we could not succeed. He looked upon the scheme to thrust emancipation down the throats of the South in the same light as the attempt of the South to thrust slavery on the North. He wanted to make friends with the South, and not make weapons against us. The country was not to be saved by initiating legislation and schemes in favor of the negro, but by war against the rebellion and kindness to loyal people. He believed the system of legislation pursued here brought us to the condition we are now in and massed the enemy against us. Where is now the great army? And shall we go on fighting, as if we were the Abolition party fighting against the pro-slavery party?

Mr. Chandler, of Michigan, replying to Mr. Cowan, said, the Senator from Pennsylvania wanted to know where the army was, or who placed them there. The Army of the Potomac, when it marched on Manassas, numbered 230,000 men, and the enemy less than 30,000. They marched on Manassas, and found thirty-two wooden guns and eleven hundred dead horses. That army could have marched to Richmond in thirty days and not lost a thousand men; and there was no impediment to its marching to Charleston or New Orleans. But the Senator from Pennsylvania wants to know who placed the army where it is? The press, politicians and traitors of the country declare that E. M. Stanton put them there; but Stanton had nothing to do with putting the army in the marshes of the Chickahominy. This is a matter of criminality, of gross criminality, which should consign the criminal to eternal detestation and condemnation. The country demands sacrifice for this crime, and the press of the country are demanding the sacrifice of the mere clerk Stanton, the mere clerk to obey the orders of the President. He (Mr. Chandler) introduced a resolution, which, if answered, would show the true criminal. The criminality was reduced so as to be between two persons. The great crime consisted in sacrificing and dividing this great Army of the Potomac, and the criminal is either Abraham Lincoln or George B. McClellan. There is no third man at all. The criminal, in his judgment, should not only be deprived of office, but suffer the extreme penalty of the law. The nation has been disgraced by this division of the Army of the Potomac, and E. M. Stanton always opposed it. If that great army had been commanded by the arch traitor Jeff Davis there has not been a movement which he would not have ordered since the first of December. He called on the press and traitors of the country to stop denouncing a mere clerk, and to denounce Abraham Lincoln or George B. McClellan. Who led the army into the marshes of the Chickahominy, where they died like sheep, and where the left wing was left to maintain a savage fight, when a reënforcement of 20,000 men from the right or centre would have sent the rebels back into Richmond, defeated!

Mr. Lane (Rep.), of Kansas, thought this was no time for crimination. The speech of the Senator from Pennsylvania, and such meetings as the one lately held in New York, do more to mass the enemy than all the legislation of Congress. Some men in the country had asked and prayed that loyal black men might be taken into the service. If it had been done he believed the war might have been closed in ninety days. Fifty thousand men were lost by Halleck in the marshes before Corinth by building fortifications, etc., which might have been saved. He (Mr. Lane) was willing to stand by the President and the Secretary of War, whom he believed to be the soul and bulwark of the nation, till this war was over, and then he would be willing to go with the Senator from Michigan into an investigation of who was to blame.

CONFISCATION OF SLAVES.

The House having refused to concur in the Senate's substitute for the Confiscation bill, Mr. Clark moved that the Senate insist on its amendment and ask a Committee of Conference. Mr. Sherman, of Ohio (Rep.), moved that the Senate recede from the amendment and agree to the House bill. Mr. Trumbull, of Illinois (Rep.), hoped the Senate would recede in that way. We should thus get a Confiscation bill, not as efficient as some wish, but yet a good bill. The question was taken on Mr. Sherman's amendment, which was rejected by yeas 14, nays 23.

Yeas—Messrs. Chandler, Grimes, Hale, Harlan, Howard, King, Lane of Indiana, Lane of Kansas, Morrill, Sherman, Sumner, Trumbull, Wilkinson and Wright—14.

Nays—Messrs. Anthony, Browning, Carlile, Clark, Collamer, Cowan, Davis, Doolittle, Fessenden, Foot, Foster, Harris, Henderson, Kennedy, McDougall, Nesmith, Powell, Rice, Simmons, Stark, Ten Eyck, Willey, Wilson of Missouri—23.

Absent—Messrs. Bayard, Dixon, Howe, Latham, Pierce, Pomeroy, Saulsbury, Thompson, Wade, Wilmot, Wilson of Massachusetts.

Mr. Clark's motion for a Conference Committee was then agreed to by yeas 28, nays 10.

Nays—Messrs. Carlile, Davis, Kennedy, Lane of Indiana, Powell, Stark, Trumbull, Wilkinson, Wilson of Missouri, Wright.

GEN. HUNTER'S LETTER—NEGRO SOLDIERS.

The reading of Gen. Hunter's letter to the Secretary of War, in the House, on the 2d inst., made the "radicals," so called, quite happy, and affected the conservatives in a very different way. The letter was ordered to be printed. Mr. Wickliffe of Ky., the author of the resolution to which it was a response, was not present. On the next day, Mr. Lovejoy, of Illinois (Rep.), rising to a question of privilege, said that inasmuch as the gentleman from Kentucky (Mr. Wickliffe) was at the meeting in New York, on Tuesday, and delivered a speech there, he (Lovejoy) moved that the reply of Maj.-Gen. Hunter to the resolution offered by that gentleman (Wickliffe), relative to the raising of a regiment of blacks be read for the latter's benefit, he (Wickliffe) yesterday, being absent. Mr. Wickliffe replied that he would answer Gen. Hunter's reply at the proper time.

On the same day Mr. Dunlap, of Kentucky (Union), asked but did not obtain leave to introduce a resolution declaring the sentiments contained in Major-Gen. Hunter's letter relative to arming of the slaves (read in the House yesterday) as ominously unjust to an American Congress—an insult to the American people and to our brave soldiers, and justly merits the condemnation of this body.

On Saturday, Mr. Wickliffe moved to reconsider the vote by which Major-Gen. Hunter's reply to the inquiries as to the organization of negro regiments, was ordered to be printed. Gen. Hunter, he said, instead of organizing and parading negroes, ought to have prepared his troops to prevent their retreat from James Island. It was miserable policy to muster runaway negroes into the service. If twenty million of freemen are not able to suppress a rebellion of six million of white men, let this acknowledgment at once be made. The recommendation to the Border slave States to emancipate their slaves, and the design to pass Confiscation bills have not scared the South. One hundred and ninety six thousand more troops than the law prescribes have been enlisted. He insisted that the number should be limited, and the military arm restrained from going beyond the statute. He wished, however, that we had more troops duly authorized, to be placed where they ought to be. The Secretary of War ought to have rebuked Gen. Hunter for his saucy and impudent letter, and removed him for having undertaken to enlist negro soldiers without sanction of law.

Mr. Wickliffe said that to-day he received an anonymous letter from some scoundrel, enclosing a copy of Hunter's letter, telling him to "read this, and smoke it in your pipe." He wanted his brother members to take a whiff. It was the duty of every head of a Department to rebuke a subordinate who, with reference to any legitimate inquiry, takes occasion to indulge in unjust and insulting criticisms. This was the ground of his complaint, he having introduced the resolution to which Hunter's letter was a reply. The negroes were naturally afraid of guns—give them John Brown pikes and bowie knives, if you intend to carry on a war of murder and devastation in the South. He had intended to bring one of John Brown's pikes here, thinking the House might adopt it as a fit instrument for South Carolina blacks.

Mr. McKnight, of Pennsylvania (Rep.), regretted that Mr. Wickliffe had just agitated the negro question, believing it was, at this critical juncture, injurious to the public interests.

Mr. Mallory, of Kentucky (Union), said that no man condemned more severely than he did the letter of Gen. Hunter and the system inaugurated by that General in arming negroes. It was an outrage on humanity. He shrunk from it. The House ought to be forever ashamed of its conduct, the other day, when Hunter's letter was read. The demonstration on the part of certain members approached to buffoonery, and was disgraceful to the American Congress.

Messrs. Riddle, of Pennsylvania, and Colfax, of Indiana, called the gentleman to order.

The Speaker reminded Mr. Mallory that he was transcending the rules.

Mr. Mallory asked pardon. He differed from his colleague (Wickliffe) as to the Secretary of War. He [illegible] confidence in that officer, and that the conduct of Gen. Hunter would be repudiated, for the following reasons: Two or three weeks ago he had business with the Secretary. When he was about leaving the Department the Secretary called him back, and folding over the date and signature of a letter, showed him that an officer had asked authority to raise a regiment of blacks. The Secretary inquired what answer ought to be given, to which he (Mallory) replied: "If you will allow me to dictate an answer, I would say, emphatically, NO." The Secretary rejoined, that he had not only done that, but had ordered the officer's arrest. He therefore repeated to many gentlemen that the charges that the Secretary of War sanctioned the recruiting of blacks, were false.

Mr. Kellogg, of Illinois (Rep.)—Was the arrest for making that suggestion?

Mr. Mallory—That was the impression I received. If there were other reasons, they were not stated.

Mr. Richardson, of Illinois (Opp.), inquired whether, in Mr. Mallory's judgment, the Secretary, to be consistent, ought not to dismiss Hunter.

Mr. Mallory would wait till the Secretary had time to consider the question.

Mr. Stevens remarked, in reply to Mr. Mallory, that from the communication he had with the Secretary of War, he (Stevens) did not think the Secretary held any such doctrine as that attributed by the gentleman from Kentucky. He wished the Secretary had replied by saying: "I have sent arms and clothing South in order to supply loyal men there." If this answer had been given it would have been in accordance with what he supposed were the Secretary's sentiments. The employment of blacks was but the carrying out of the usage of all civilized nations. Nothing could be produced from history to show the contrary. The usage was to liberate slaves and take them into service to defeat the enemy. During the Revolution the blacks were used by Washington as soldiers, and Jackson did the same thing.

Mr. Lovejoy, of Illinois (Rep.), (by permission of Mr. Stevens) occupied the floor for a short time, and read from the proclamations of Washington and Jackson in support of Mr. Stevens's position, and to show the noble enthusiasm of colored soldiers impelling to great deeds.

Mr. Sedgwick, of New York (Rep.), also read, from a paper furnished him by the Librarian of the State of New York, to the effect that Spain, Portugal, Brazil, Great Britain, Turkey, etc., employed soldiers, without regard to color, including the mustering of blacks into service, as highly important and desirable.

Mr. Diven, of New York (Conservative Republican), said he had been endeavoring for weeks past to introduce a bill for this purpose. In reply to Mr. Bingham he said he provided in the bill for liberty to all thus employed.

Mr. Stevens was thankful to Mr. Sedgwick for the portion of history he had produced. He had been told by a venerable Senator from Vermont, who had seen [illegible] that a regiment of colored soldiers were employed on the northern frontiers during the late war with Great Britain. It was the duty of the government to follow the policy inaugurated by Gen. Hunter, that gallant and sagacious soldier who now commands our armies in South Carolina. You cannot put down insurrection till you remove the cause. You cannot conquer the South as long as you permit slaves to cultivate Southern soil during the hot summer months. He was for arming the slave population of the South in this war of freedom against traitors and rebels. He would not resort to this as an emancipation or abolition measure, but as the means of putting down the rebellion. He referred to the Methodists, Baptists, Old and New School Presbyterians, etc., as having conscientiously and solemnly expressed their belief that slavery is the cause of the rebellion, and its continuance.

Mr. Mallory—I am as anxious as the gentleman can be, and I think from the stronger motive of self-interest, to put down the rebellion.

Mr. Stevens—I don't doubt it. We only differ in opinion as to the means.

Mr. Mallory—I think the slaves of Southern rebels should be used, as our armies advance, in all menial service, such as boating and assisting on fortifications. My reasons against arming them are: 1. When armed, they will be turned loose against those who have been their masters; their practice will be indiscriminate slaughter of men, women and children. 2. You can[illegible] your lives, make of slaves an army whose [illegible] in the field will pay the expense of organizing them. One shot from a cannon would disperse thirty thousand of them.

Mr. Stevens, quickly responding—Then they will do no injury to the rebels who fight them. I am for employing them against their masters. I suppose the gentleman wants to employ them in menial service, and after the war return them to their masters under the Fugitive Slave law. In further remarks he said he was for putting them in the front of the battle. He would raise a hundred thousand to-morrow. They are not barbarians, and are as much calculated to be human as any other class of people. It was false to say they would not make good soldiers. He would seize every foot of land and dollar of property, and apply them to the uses of war as our armies go along. He would plant in the south military colonies, and sell the land to soldiers of freedom, holding the heritage of traitors, and building up institutions without the recognition of slavery.

On motion of Mr. Washburne, the House, by 61 against 26, laid on the table the motion of Mr. Wickliffe to reconsider the vote by which Gen. Hunter's letter was ordered to be printed.

On Monday, Mr. Diven, in taking leave of the House, for the purpose of returning home to raise soldiers for the war, said: He had ventured to suggest, last Saturday, that he had in his desk for a long time, and was desirous of introducing, a bill for the employment of negroes [illegible] Southern States in defence of the government. [illegible] such a measure was, perhaps, calculated to alienate him from Border State men; still he thought the negroes in the Southern States ought to be so employed. The government was to-day supporting ten thousand black men, who were rendering no equivalent for their support. They should be made to render an equivalent. He ought, therefore, to muster them into our service, employ them in trenches and batteries, and instruct them in siege duty, so that they may help to maintain the conquests that we have made. It was the duty of the government to employ these blacks, for unless they were organized and brought into systematic discipline they would soon become disorderly, band themselves together, and commit great outrages. Besides, the season was approaching when white men could not exist in those torrid latitudes, and therefore the blacks should be trained to defend and protect the positions taken by our army. His bill provided for that—that these blacks should receive the same pay as common soldiers, and that afterwards the bounty to which they would be entitled should be expended in transporting them, with their families, to such colony as they might select, and maintaining them there for six months—emigration to be voluntary, not compulsory.

THE FOURTH AT FRAMINGHAM.—The celebration of the Fourth of July at Framingham, under the auspices of the Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society, was an occasion of rare and solemn interest to a large body of people. The weather being favorable, a great multitude, from different parts of the Commonwealth, assembled in the beautiful grove to listen to the voices of those who see in the Southern Rebellion the natural fruit of slavery, and believe that the nation can be saved only by striking off the chains of the oppressed. Mr. GARRISON presided, and the speakers, so far as we recollect their names, were E. H. HEYWOOD, J. MILLER MCKIM of Philadelphia, JOHN S. ROCK, Esq., WILLIAM WELLS BROWN, SUSAN B. ANTHONY of Rochester, CHARLES C. BURLEIGH, Rev. DANIEL FOSTER of Kansas, Rev. Mr. TENNEY of Marlborough, and HENRY C. WRIGHT. One spirit pervaded all that was said—the spirit of uncompromising Freedom and Justice—and the people listened with a fixedness of attention and an earnestness of purpose worthy of the solemn crisis in the nation's fate. We shall probably have a report for next week's paper.

Chronicles of the War.

OUR readers will not expect to see in these columns the details of the late repulse before Richmond. We must content ourselves with saying that Gen. McClellan, whose friends so confidently expected he would celebrate the Fourth in the Rebel Capital, has been outnumbered, and, after desperate fighting and very heavy loss, driven back. How many Union soldiers have been either killed, wounded, or taken prisoners, no one can tell; but we doubt if the number is less than 20,000, while we seriously fear that it is even more. There is reason to suppose that the losses of the enemy are greater than our own, though on this point no one out of the rebel ranks can speak with knowledge. We do not hesitate to say that McClellan's Peninsular campaign is a dead failure, and that the chance of taking Richmond is not as good now as it was before the evacuation of Manassas. If he were an anti-slavery instead of a pro-slavery General, the whole "conservative" press would now be clamoring for his removal on the ground of incompetency; but his partisans are doing their utmost to cover his blunders and lay the responsibility of his failure upon the head of the Secretary of War.

Is there any reason to hope that the President and his advisers, admonished by this unexpected disaster, and comprehending at last the fearful peril of the country, will strike boldly at the cause of the rebellion? Who can answer the question? To us the future looks dark, or would do so but for our unfailing trust in the wisdom and goodness of God.

BETWEEN NEW YORK AND BOSTON.—Among our readers there are not a few who have occasion, more or less frequently, to go from New York to Boston, or from Boston to New York, over one or the other lines of travel by which the two cities are connected. The directest route, we believe, is that through Groton, Ct., and Providence, R. I. From this city to Groton, the traveller goes by steamer (either the *Plymouth Rock* or the *Commonwealth*, according to the day he may select for the journey), and thence to Boston by rail, passing through Stonington and Providence, and intersecting at Mansfield the railroad to Taunton and New Bedford. The steamers on this route are among the very best on our inland waters, complete in all their appointments, and officered by capable men, who give careful attention to the comfort of travellers and feel a due responsibility for the safety of their lives. The railroads, too, are under excellent management both as to speed and safety, and it is rare indeed that any serious accident occurs on them. Leaving New York at 5, p.m., the traveller may generally depend on reaching Boston in season to get his breakfast and make connection with any of the morning trains departing thence. The only inconvenience attending this in common with the other steamboat lines for Boston, is the necessity for leaving the steamer for the cars at 1 o'clock, a.m., when most people wish to be asleep; but this is much alleviated by the use of cars which put the passenger in a half-recumbent posture, afford a rest for the head, and thus enable him, if his nerves are not too delicate, to finish his night's rest in tolerable comfort. In coming from Boston to New York there is no such inconvenience, for you reach the steamer at half-past 9 o'clock, go to rest at your accustomed hour, and reach this city in time for breakfast. This, it strikes us, is the very perfection of travelling arrangements.

REV. C. H. MALCOM, of Newport, R. I., having been very ill for several months, has obtained leave of absence from his pulpit for change of air, but hopes to be able ere long to resume his pastoral labors. He is among the few faithful ministers who "cry aloud and spare not" on the national sin and crime of slavery.

"AMONG THE PINES."—We invite the particular attention of our readers to the review, on the first page, of a new book bearing this title. They may be sure that if we did not think the book a valuable one, we should not copy the commendations bestowed upon it by another journal.

THE QUESTION OF THE HOUR FOR FREE LABORING MEN.—Shall we fight to have all loyal laborers free, or be ourselves the slaves of traitors?

Summary.

A single egg will settle a pot of coffee. It took a good many to settle Wendell Phillips.—*Prentice.*

Coffee, when settled, becomes transparent. The loyalty of Wendell Phillips is now so clear that none question it.—*Milwaukee Daily Life.*

The John Brown Fund, contributed by the people of Hayti, is at last to be distributed to the heirs of John Brown and his fellow-sufferers. It amounts to about $3,100, and the committee appointed includes Wendell Phillips, William Lloyd Garrison, and James Redpath.

MARRIED WOMEN DOING BUSINESS.—The new law passed at the last session of the Legislature, allowing married women doing business on their own account to file a certificate in the office of the city or town clerk, and thus protect the property vested in their separate business against any claim of their husband's creditors, went into effect Tuesday. This law applies to boarding-house keepers as well as to those engaged in trading, or other business.—*New Bedford Standard.*

Agreeable to announcement, we understand that Rev. Dr. Cheever addressed the Literary Societies of the Alfred University on Monday evening last; a large audience being present, many of whom were from a distance. We would most gladly have been present. The Committee of Arrangements have our thanks for the complimentary tickets sent. It is very gratifying to hear that they had a good time and so many were pleased with Dr. Cheever's views of the "Constitutional Supremacy of Justice and Liberty for the Reconstruction of the Union."—*Wellsville (N. Y.) Free Press.*

The new Constitution made for Illinois is said to be rejected; but the three odious sections directed against the colored race have been adopted. They are of a character that would disgrace Sahara for savageness, and Caffraria for cruelty. If we shall fall in the secession war, it will be a punishment for the base prejudice and mean bigotry of a portion of the Northern people. That Illinois vote will do us more damage abroad than could be made to proceed from the loss of ten pitched battles. Battles may have their issue determined by a score of things that shall not be discreditable to the losers, but deliberate oppression of the weak by the strong creates disgust even in the minds of despots. We shall be despised as well in Vienna as Venice.—*Boston Traveller.*

The letter from Gen. Hunter to Secretary Stanton, in regard to the negro regiment formed in South Carolina, will be read with interest, and seems to set at rest the question whether soldiers can be made out of the slaves of the South. Gen. Hunter makes out a very strong case, and his answer to the imputation of having enrolled fugitive slaves is one of the best things of the war. He says the masters are the fugitives, and the slaves the loyal men, and he is not far out of the way; though it is not yet quite clear that the time has come to use them as soldiers. But the knotty questions connected with the war are approaching solution as fast as could reasonably be expected, and the sooner they are decided, the better.—*Springfield Repub.*

TAXES IN THE INSURRECTIONARY DISTRICTS.—President Lincoln has just issued his proclamation, setting forth the sections of this country in which insurrection exists, pursuant to the Act of Congress of the 7th of June, "for the collection of taxes in insurrectionary districts." The effect of this proclamation, as defined by that statute, will be to apportion upon the States, parts of States, and Territories now in rebellion the amount of direct taxes imposed upon them by the Act of August 5th, 1861, and to charge such taxes upon the lots and grounds situated in the insurrectionary district, except such as may be exempt from taxation by law. Those lots and grounds liable to taxation are now charged with their respective proportions of such direct taxes, and the same, together with the penalty, are from this date a lien upon the premises, without other legal proceedings being required in the case.

AN INDIGNANT CONTRABAND.—On Wednesday evening last about 600 secesh prisoners from Gen. Jackson's army reached Philadelphia on their way to Fort Delaware. Among them was a "Louisiana Tiger," attended by a sable contraband, perhaps the last of the hundred left him by an affectionate father. Between Harrisburg and the city the contraband began to get some notions of his position, and on reaching Washington street wharf, he proceeded to thrash his master in real plantation style. He gave as the reason that his master had been thrashing him for the last ten years and that now it was his turn. He was allowed to have his own way until his master was pretty well exhausted, when he was taken away, and the "Tiger" was shipped for Fort Delaware. At the same time an excited female offered to thrash any one of the prisoners who would stand out, in revenge for the death of her son.

PARSON BROWNLOW, in his recent lecture in Washington, took strong ground against the manner in which the Administration is conducting the war. He said on this point: "The country is now pursuing a course with this infernal, wicked rebellion which I do not approve of; unless we pursue a different and a more vigorous one, we shall never end this rebellion in God's world!" The tremendous applause at the end of the sentence gave good evidence that there is a large number of persons in Washington who agree with the Parson. He returned to this point again—it seemed to be a very important one with him. The government must adopt a more vigorous war policy, or give up the attempt to put down the rebellion—he was sure of that. He has no faith whatever in the "conciliatory policy," for the reason that, he says, he knows that the rebels are determined not to be conciliated. They will only give up to actual brute force.—*Cor. Eve. Post.*

VINCENT COLYER, who got frightened at Stanly's intimation that teaching slaves was contrary to law, and ran away from North Carolina, has published a card acknowledging himself to be a jackass, and that he misunderstood his Excellency, and that Stanly is not going to interfere with Vincent's schools, or return fugitive slaves. Now, will Vincent tell us if he lied about slaves having been caught and returned by authority of said Stanly, and why he told such a yarn to the Secretary of War and the President? We fear poor Colyer has been made a tool to cover up the blunder of Stanly and shield the Administration from reproach. See if Colyer don't get a good office. He can eat dirt in a sufficiently Christian spirit to entitle him to some official position. There is some mystery about this whole affair. If the statement which Colyer now retracts rested solely upon his authority, the public would doubtless settle down upon a conviction that injustice had been done to Gov. Stanly, but not so. The facts were given first to the public by the correspondent of the N. Y. *Times*, who is at present at Newbern, and who has made no retraction of *his* statement. Let us know the whole truth, without favor. In this case "a lie well stuck to" won't answer.—*Milwaukee Daily Life.*

SLAVE CASE IN VERMONT.—The Bellows Falls *Times* has a report of proceedings before Probate Judge Closson, on a petition of certain citizens of the town of Reading that a colored girl, brought to the town from the State of Florida by Mr. Calvin R. Robinson, and held by him as a slave, should be put under the legal guardianship of Mr. Silas Pike, on whom the Selectmen had placed that duty. An informal hearing of parties was had, during which it was stated by Robinson that the girl had been purchased by him, but that he had signed certain papers with the view to her manumission from slavery; that he had sent her to school, where she had been insulted, had her hair pulled, and been called in derision "a nigger" by certain boys, and that Robinson had no objection to resign all claim on her as a chattel, but claimed the right to be her guardian. Testimony was given as to the usage the girl had received, but it did not show that the child had been abused. At the close of the hearing last Tuesday, which lasted over five hours, Judge Closson decided not to revoke the appointment. Mr. Pike is therefore the guardian of the child, and he prefers that she should remain in the care of Mr. Robinson; but Mr. R. declines to have her in his care, unless he can have full control over her himself, and will therefore deliver her into the immediate possession of her legal guardian.

WEST VIRGINIA, I see, still sticks by the way. Mr. Sumner is trying to get a saving clause into the bill, providing for the abolition of slavery, and Jack Hale replies that he prefers a slave State with a gradual emancipation clause to a free State. I hope he will come home and stump New Hampshire for an alteration of her Constitution so that she may tolerate slavery for twenty years. If there is anything proved by the history of emancipation, it is that *gradualism* is the most contemptible of humbugs. Both sides invariably desire to get rid of it, before the limitation of time expires. That Hale should take to patronizing this wretchedest[and]-stupidest of all possible absurdities, is one of the phenomena of the times. It can hardly be wondered at that Mr. Sumner goes for the new State, or that he voted for Clark's Confiscation bill. After trying to get the best thing, if he fails he invariably votes for anything which promises, however feebly or remotely, to bring any good results. Herein consists his great practical talent, in which he excels almost every man we have ever sent to Congress. Hence his vote for Clark's bill, from which, of course, he expects little or no good. After Judge Thomas emasculated the Confiscation bill of last year, Mr. Sumner saved it by his efforts in the Senate and at the side of the President, and it has no doubt done some good. I observe that a Kentucky judge lately released a slave under it. As to West Virginia, I cannot understand what good Mr. Sumner sees in it. He may be drawn to it from the fact that it gives encouragement and support to his theory that the rebel States are dead. This is getting to be an accepted fact in practice, and the more it is seen to be a fact in practice, the more virulent are its and Mr. Sumner's enemies, because he had the sense and sagacity to announce it. The way Dixon of Connecticut floundered about while assailing this doctrine in the Senate the other day was amusing enough. The process of admitting West Virginia, making a live State out of dead territory, is very nearly that contemplated by Sumner's resolutions. It is absurd and monstrous on any other theory. The process of dissecting a criminal who has been handed over to the doctors, implies, I think, that the criminal is dead before the knife is applied. If he were really alive dissection would be impossible, and no amount of shrieking and theorizing can make a dead man or a dead State a living organization.—*Bost. Cor. Springfield Republican.*

AMERICAN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY.

Receipts for Standard from June 1 to July 1, 1862.

1162	E. Haskell, Guilford,	Me.	$1 00
1177	Miss Sarah Ross, Portland,	"	1 00
1196	Luther Melendy, Amherst,	N. H.	2 00
1197	Peter Eaton, Hermiker,	"	2 00
1173	Rev. A. J. Davis, New Market,	"	1 00
1140	Marin Grow, Topsham.	Vt.	61
1166	Geo. Doughty, Brattleboro,	"	1 00
1111	Charles W. Elliott, New Haven,	Conn.	2 00
1196	B. Pomeroy, Southport,	"	2 00
1111	John Ketcham, Jericho, L. I.		2 00
1174	A. Fairbanks, Providence, R. I.		2 00
1176	A. Phetterplace, " "		1 00
1113	H. H. Chamberlain, Worcester,	Mass.	3 96
1196	D. B. Morey, Boston,	"	2 00
936	Mrs. Rev. Theo. Parker, "	"	2 00
1167	Mrs. J. G. Dodge, "	"	2 00
1156	Anna Gardner, Harwichport,	"	2 00
1151	Mrs. M. Howland, New Bedford,	"	3 00
1196	Fem. A. S. Soc'y, Weymouth,	"	4 00
1196	Mrs. Charles Goddard, Winchester,	"	2 00
1168	Edw. P. Smith, Amherst,	"	1 00
1183	A. Smith, Middlefield,	"	1 00
1178	M. Smith, "	"	2 00
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Thou long disowned, reviled, opprest,
Strange friend of human-kind,
Seeking, through many years, a rest
Within our hearts to find—

How late thy bright and awful brow
Breaks through these clouds of sin!
Hail Truth divine! we know thee now.
Angel of God, come in!

Come! though with purifying fire,
And desolating sword!
Thou of all nations the desire,
Earth waits thy cleansing word!

Struck by the lightning of thy glance,
Let old oppressions die!
Before thy cloudless countenance
Let fear and falsehood fly!

Anoint our eyes with healing grace
To see, as ne'er before,
Our Father in our Brother's face,
Our Master in his poor!

Flood our dark life with golden day!
Convince, subdue, enthral!
Then to a mightier yield thy sway,
And Love be all in all!

E. S.

Speech of Gerrit Smith on the Country.

Delivered in Boston, June 15, 1862.

My theme is a ruined country, and that country our own. I say not that it is ruined beyond recovery. Perhaps it is not: though perhaps it is. My theme is a conquered country—our own country conquered. Time will prove whether it is or is not to be reconquered. I should be sure of its reconquest were it not self-conquered, and self-conquered, too, not by means of economic, military, or other blunders, but by deliberate crimes. It is not alone "O Israel!" but O America! also, "thou hast fallen by thine iniquity." Far more hope for our country would there be had she been conquered by another country. For then she might be still undebased. For then she might be still inwardly strong, though for a season outwardly weak.

I said that our country was conquered by her crimes. I had better said that slavery was her conqueror. It was in the service of slavery that these crimes were perpetrated. Very soon after our nation began her existence, slavery began to conquer her. Her commerce, and then her manufactures, and not long after her literature, all felt the mighty influence of slavery. Her politics, which, in the end, came to be controlled by that influence, felt it early and extensively. I scarcely need add that the ecclesiastical religion of the country was no less quick to feel it, and no less easy to be corrupted by it. For that religion, especially in a country of popular institutions, goes with the politics. The religion which does not lift up the politics to its own level never fails to descend to the level of the politics. The State goes with a pure Church. The Church goes with a corrupt State. A pro-slavery religion always accompanies pro-slavery politics. Let wickedness abound among the civil rulers, and it abounds among the ecclesiastical also.

I referred to the early and rapidly increasing influence of slavery. It has now taken up arms to complete its conquests. For this rebellion is neither more nor less than slavery in arms.

Until slavery broke out in this rebellion, this nation had never been frightened by it. Pity it had not been! For the harm that it did us before the rebellion is greater than the harm it can do us in the rebellion. It can but kill us now. It corrupted us before. And however great an evil it is to be killed, it is an infinitely greater one to be corrupted—and especially so corrupted as they are who do the work and guard the work of slavery. By an obvious law of our being, the greater the crime to which we addict ourselves, the more thorough is our corruption. But no other crime, not even the murderer's, is so great as the slaveholder's. Even the slaveholder will confess that he had rather his child were murdered than enslaved. And no other crime is so mean as is theirs who "rob the poor because they are poor," and outrage the helpless because they are helpless. However much he may have deserved it at other hands, it was certainly a very unfitting and unseemly act in the American people to hang Gordon the slave-trader. For his pro-slavery work and theirs were substantially one—though pursued in different ways. He was a comparatively honorable man, because he carried into the common work a daring and a danger-defying spirit. They, like other cowards, keep themselves at a safe distance from danger, and perform their part of the wickedness because they can perform it with impunity. Compare Gordon with the pro-slavery men of the South and of the North, and if he is not as "Hyperion to a Satyr," he is nevertheless very far from being as low in the scale of Satyrs as are the Southern slaveholders or their Northern pimps.

The Abolitionists think their country will be saved, because they think slavery will be abolished. I do myself think it will be abolished, and that very soon, too. That it received its death wound in the bombardment of Sumter I have never doubted. Never have I believed that slavery could survive this war for slavery. Its prestige is lost. Its weakness is revealed. It is now laughed at and detested by vast numbers who had hitherto respected it. The war has stripped the great lie of its disguises, and cast it out all naked to the derision, and scorn, and abhorrence of the world. Nevertheless, slavery may die, and yet the nation not live. For it may so die that the nation will die with it. The exorcised "spirit of the unclean devil" of slavery is rending us fearfully as he leaves us, and all the more fearfully, because in our unprecedented infatuation we cling to him, and refuse to let him go. Our nation is broken up. It is only through penitence that it can be made whole, if indeed God will let so guilty a nation be made whole. And yet, notwithstanding this, and notwithstanding all our sufferings, we remain impenitent.

I do not forget that the nation's excuse for being so corrupt as to protect slavery, is that the Constitution requires its protection. But whether it does require it, as some hold, or does not, as others hold, the excuse is entirely groundless. This pleading of the requirement of the Constitution is hypocritical. It would have mattered not what interpretation on the subject of slavery the Constitution is capable of. The nation would still have gone for slavery. However strong against slavery the Constitution might have been, nevertheless such a nation as this is, and was—so full of Yankee eagerness for gain, and so much more enterprising than principled—would have been carried by Whitney's cotton-gin to the side of slavery. In short, any people who are wicked and base enough to go for slavery, along with a pro-slavery Constitution, are wicked and base enough to go for it against a however strongly anti-slavery Constitution. That it is not owing to reverence for the Constitution that the nation has been pro-slavery, is manifest from the fact that it has not shrunk from kicking anti-slavery constitutional impediments out of its pro-slavery way. And that it is not owing to such reverence that the nation spares slavery, is manifest from the fact that it spares it even now, when the Constitution confessedly presents no obstacle in the way of its abolition by either the civil or the military power.

Oh, no! let not the nation seek to hide her shame behind the Constitution. She has corrupted the Constitution far more than the Constitution has corrupted her. In other words, far more of the pro-slavery spirit has the nation infused into the Constitution than the Constitution has infused into the nation.

It is true, that slaveholders and demagogues in the interest of slaveholders juggle with the Constitution, as do the priests of this, that and the other religion, with their sacred books. But I do not believe that the people are very much deceived by these Constitution jugglers. I admit that a very deep and tender regard for the Constitution is claimed to be general. But for other Constitutions—and even for those on which framers of the Federal Constitution wrought—there has been but little manifestation of such regard. Even those have been readily thrown aside to make room for their successors. And when the slaveholders could no longer serve their selfish purposes by glorifying and worshipping the Federal Constitution, how quickly and contemptuously did they dismiss it! The simple and disgraceful truth is that the people, being willing to uphold slavery, were willing to accept the most extravagant pro-slavery interpretations of the Constitution. It was this which encouraged slaveholders and pro-slavery demagogues to shout for the Constitution. I was myself accustomed to speak and write much for the Constitution. But since the breaking out of the rebellion, my absorbing concern for the country has made me careless of everything in the Constitution save only those most precious parts of it which accord to the government unlimited discretion and power in putting down the rebellion. And not one groat would any Constitution be worth that did not accord such discretion and power. I would not overrate the importance of these constitutional grants. A right-minded nation makes little account in time of war of constitutional refusals and restrictions. Of all nations, ours is the only one which, when its life was struck at, stopped to calculate anxiously how it could bring its defence within the specific provisions of a paper. The reply to this may be that few nations have had a written Constitution. And better is it, I hold, for none to have such a one, than to be trammelled by it in time of war. The truth is, that war must ever be its own law. The spirit of war cannot be toned and tamed down to the spirit of peace. No paper made in time of peace can provide specifically for all the possible necessities and demands of war. It may, in its spirit and in its general and comprehensive terms, provide for them. And happily our Constitution does this.

That those demagogues who seek to get up a popular worship of the Constitution do so but to serve slavery was never so manifest as in the present war. They quote the Constitution abundantly. But they do this not to put obstacles in the way of slavery, only in the way of liberty; not to save the country, but to destroy it. They quoted it against the President's call for seventy-five thousand troops; and they have quoted it against every measure essential to the salvation of the country. Some of these demagogues are now in Congress, working to block its wheels by quotations from the Constitution. I admit that here and there an honest man goes with them. For, all over the country, there is here and there an honest man who is not yet freed from the so-industriously-inculcated delusion that the Constitution lays the people under moral obligation to uphold slavery. As an instance of the tricks by which the lying pro-slavery press attempts to magnify the importance of the Constitution beyond even the salvation of the country, it is continually publishing that in this, that, and the other battle our soldiers fought bravely for the Constitution. The inspirations of the battle-field can no more come from the dry rules of a paper than from the dead leaves of the forest.

Will this ruined nation be restored? Will this lost nation be found? Will this dead nation live again? Is there, notwithstanding all she has done to make her ruin utter and hopeless, salvation still in store for her? The answer to these questions turns on her future treatment of the black man. By her past treatment of him she has destroyed herself. For this was it that God came forth in his present bloody and terrible controversy with her. An undelayed righteous treatment of the black man—a treatment prompted by pity and love for him—would save her, and nothing else can. But I must confess that the prospect of his being so treated is to my mind quite faint. It is true that the army does no longer in form return fugitive slaves. But it is also true that this comes not always, if indeed generally, of pity and love for them. It is true, too, that the President is bearing himself quite as well on the subject of slavery as could be expected, considering that he was born and bred where sensibility to its murderous wrongs is uncultivated, unfelt, and ridiculed. It is true, too, that he is multiplying the proofs of his honest patriotism, and of his sincere desire to save the country even though at the necessity of overthrowing the whole system of American slavery. But it is also true that as yet he manifests no pity and no love for the black man. It is true that Congress has, in one and another of its measures, shown that it would rather let slavery than the country go. But it is also true that Congress, like the President, lacks not only the deep and absorbing earnestness, which both would feel did they both see, as it is so strange they do not, the well-nigh desperate condition of the country, but that, like him, it also fails to show pity and love for the black man. I do not forget that Congress voted to abolish slavery in the District of Columbia. But that it did not this from pity and love for the black man is proved by its suffering the District to become, far more than ever, a hunting-ground for human prey. Its excuse is that the District has become such under the operation of the Fugitive Slave Act. Then why does it not repeal that Act? Because, says Congress, the Constitution requires such an Act. But in virtue of no statute and no Constitution, is Congress at liberty to tolerate slavery? There can be no law for slavery any more than for murder. Nay, slavery is the worst form of murder. It is the murder of both body and soul. Law is for the protection of rights, and not for the deepest possible outrage upon them. The man who believes that there can be law—real, obligatory law—for slavery, is lost. The nation that believes it is lost. That man and that nation lie in the lowest depths of inhumanity and atheism. The existence of the Fugitive Slave Act is of itself ample proof that this nation is ruined.

Were it, however, so that the Constitution can and does require the returning of any fugitive slaves, it certainly does not require the returning of them from the District of Columbia, any more than from Canada or Mexico. Again, if slavery ever had any rights under the Constitution, it has clearly forfeited them all by this its war upon the Constitution and the country. And again, since it is a necessity of the war that Congress should be left to legislate on slavery free in spirit and secure in person, it is, therefore, a necessity of the war overriding every other authority that Congress should be delivered from the presence of slavery—a presence ever demoralizing and ever controlling. It is vain to look to Washington for brave and just and vitally-needed legislation on the subject of slavery, so long as the hounds of slavery are allowed to run riot and rampant there. Oh, no! Congress has not been moved by pity and love for the black man. Had it been, it would not have grossly insulted him and pierced him with bitter disappointment by refusing him a part in the humble work of carrying the mail. Had it been, it would not have refused to emancipate the slaves of whoever had taken up arms against the country. Had it been, it would not have left the poor blacks of the South, bond and free, to be compelled to toil and suffer in the service of the rebels—but it would have taken them promptly into the joyful service of Freedom.

I impeached the earnestness of Congress. Its impertinent and unseasonable employments prove how justly I did so. It would certainly be time enough for Congress to concern itself with confiscation, compensation and colonization, after it had put down the rebellion, or at least after it had resolved unconditionally to put it down—to put it down by putting, if need be, arms into the hands of all men, white, red, or black, capable of bearing them. To be concerning itself at this stage of affairs with confiscation, compensation and colonization is emphatically to be "counting the chickens before they are hatched." It is assuming that the rebels, if not already conquered, are surely to be conquered. But through the folly and madness of Congress the rebellion may end in such a way as shall leave us no occasion for confiscation, compensation or colonization. Instead of the question, What shall the North do with the South? the question may still possibly be, as it has been for 30 or 40 years, What shall the South do with the North?

Had Congress been unqualifiedly earnest to save the country, it would, in the very outset, have occupied itself with matters essential to the salvation of the country, and the war would consequently have been ended long ago. Its first step would have been to accept the fact that the seceded States have reduced themselves to territories. But instead of taking this decisive step, it has embarrassed itself all the way with the nonsensical idea that a State cannot cease to be a State, and cannot forfeit any of its rights as a State—an idea quite as nonsensical as that he who by his crimes has sunk the citizen in the culprit cannot lose his citizenship. It is by means of this absurd notion that the rights of a State cannot by any possibility be lost, that the pro-slavery politicians have been enabled to awaken and maintain all over the North a lively regard for the rights of the rebels. It is by means of it that a bill is before Congress to empower the Provisional Governments in the seceded States virtually to re-enact the old State laws for slavery; or, in other words, to reestablish slavery in those States by the national authority. And if it is so that a State cannot lose any of her State rights, why should Gov. Stanly be censured for his desire to see all the laws of North Carolina enforced? How monstrous is the doctrine that a State, after having seceded, still preserves its rights in the Constitution? The Constitution was not made for the advantage of its enemies, but solely for the advantage of its friends. It was made to help those who honor it, and not those who trample upon it—those who cling to it, and not those who throw it away. In using the Constitution, especially in time of war, the only question should be—how can it be used most effectively for its friends and most effectively against its foes? The Constitution, like Fort Sumter, was made by and for the nation. And no more absurd would it have been to consent that the fort should be used for the benefit of the enemies of the nation than it is to consent that the Constitution shall be.

From the breaking out of the rebellion until the present time, nothing has contributed so much to render the salvation of our country hopeless as this huge fallacy that State rights cannot be forfeited. I admit that the people of Georgia cannot take her land and water out of the nation. But they can annihilate her State relations, and they have annihilated them. Any State whose officers refuse to take the qualifying oath to support the Federal Constitution is no longer entitled to the rights of a State, but has thereby become a Territory. More emphatically true is this where the refusal is with the positive approbation of her people. Suppose Colorado to apply for admittance into our Union of States, and to be admitted; and suppose that immediately afterward she regrets the step and refuses to perfect her State organization. Is she a State after such refusal? Certainly not. She has relapsed into a Territory. And what else could she have been had she completed her organization, and then flung it up? Georgia flung up hers. It is true that she afterward organized herself into a State; but not into a State of this Union any more than if she had expressly organized herself into a constituent State of Mexico. Moreover, the seceded States being now but Territories of the nation, and her Territories being under her exclusive jurisdiction, and freedom instead of slavery being the law of that jurisdiction, it follows that if there ever was any legal slavery in those States, there is none there now. The recognition of these obvious truths, and the stern refusal of Congress to readmit any of the seceded States until all probability of their reëstablishing slavery has passed away, will quickly end both the war and slavery. And, by the way, the delay in readmitting them need not be long. A very brief taste of liberty will suffice to cure the people of those States of all desire to recall slavery. Reason teaches and history proves that no people, who have tried the best workings of Liberty, are disposed to reëstablish slavery.

That Members of Congress can be putting constitutional obstacles in the way of the most effective prosecution of the war is proof of their lack of earnestness in prosecuting it. But that they can torture the constitutional prohibition of Attainder into one of these obstacles is proof not only of this lack of earnestness, but of great disingenuousness, or great folly. How amazing that this prohibition should be construed into a prohibition to take away from an armed enemy of his country all his rights of property! It is true that Congress has not the power to attaint or corrupt the blood of his children, and to incapacitate for inheriting or transmitting; and this, by the way, is substantially the only restriction which the Constitution imposes at this point on Congress. But, to say that the rights of his children, or of any other persons, stand constitutionally in the way of stripping him of all his property within the limits of the country, including, of course, the absolute and unending right to the lands of which he is seized in fee simple, is to pour contempt upon the Constitution, its framers and adopters. What an absurdity, that you may take from the armed enemy his life, but not all his property, and rights of property! I say nothing here of the power of the Courts in cases of treason. It is the power of Congress of which we are treating, or if you please, of the President also. It is the war power—to be exercised summarily and sweepingly. It will be time enough to look into the slow and restricted processes of the Courts when the war shall be over. The belligerent or war power is the power to be wielded now; the municipal or peace power when peace shall have come.

Ere leaving this question of Attainder, we must not forget that the same Constitution which forbids the nation's passing a bill of Attainder forbids a State's doing so. Hence, for a State to doom offspring to slavery is to violate the Constitution. For this is to pass the most abominable bill of Attainder, and to attaint and corrupt the blood most emphatically as well as most cruelly. How much truer, then, to the Constitution, as well as to God and man, had Congress been, had it, instead of pleading the prohibition of Attainder in behalf of the slaveholder, plead it in behalf of the slave!—and then followed up the plea with a resolution advising the Federal Courts to recognize no bill of Attainder, and consequently to recognize no law for slavery.

Congress professes a strong desire to save the country—but complains that its way is hedged up by the Constitution. "Where there's a will there's a way." Congress lacks not a way to save the country, but a will. The will to save it at all hazards would quickly clear the way of all constitutional obstructions and scruples, and of all questions of right.

I spoke of compensation, colonization, and confiscation. I do not object to compensation, provided it means nothing more than the North's sharing with the South in the present loss from emancipation. I have held that the maxim, "Honor among thieves," requires such sharing, the North being clearly *particeps criminis* in the case. And I have never held that the slaveholder is entitled to compensation, if compensation it can be properly called, on any other ground than this. I said that I do not object to compensation. But as government confessedly in time of war has the power to emancipate, it should concern itself with emancipation before it concerns itself with compensation. Let not justice to the slave hinge upon any money or economic question. Let neither his wrongs nor our guilt be allowed to accumulate a moment longer. The claim of the oppressor must not be so much as entertained ere that of the oppressed is satisfied, and this we would all readily acknowledge, had we all repented of our crimes against the oppressed.

Nor do I object to all colonization; certainly not to that in which the subjects are free, and the promoters inspired by benevolence. But a colonization in which the subjects are not free, and which is promoted in the spirit of prejudice and hatred against race, my soul abhors. I add that to condition emancipation on colonization, or on anything else, is a very great crime.

And now to confiscation. I expect no great amount of good from the present or from any future laws of confiscation. I do not deny that there are wise men who, in the spirit of moderation, call for confiscating laws. But I have no more sympathy with the vindictive spirit which calls for such laws than I have with that spirit in its call for hanging the chief rebels. As no hanging will be necessary, so there should be no hanging. Nor, should we finally conquer, will an extensive confiscation be necessary. The large landed estates of the rebels should certainly be broken up. The remedy for our national ruin is no more in confiscation than in compensation or colonization. It is alone in repentance and "fruits meet for repentance." First among those fruits, both in the order of time and repentance, is the duty of recognizing the seceded States no longer as States, but only as Territories. The government is not to reduce them to Territories. It is simply to recognize their suicide and their self-reduction to the Territorial condition. Along with this recognition will be that of their having with their own hands put an end to all possible legal slavery within their limits. The abolition of slavery in the Border States would of course be a speedy and certain consequence.

Slavery having passed away, the evil dispositions which it generated at the South will also pass away—not rapidly, however, until the South shall see the Northern people repenting of their part in upholding slavery, and of their part (by means of such upholding) in bringing on the rebellion. I repeat that it is by repentance only that the ruined nation can be restored. By that, and that only, can the North and the South be brought together in our day into a homogeneous and happy people. The magnanimity and the love in our bearing toward the South, which will come of our repentance, will win the South to us as surely as would the harsh measures of an impatient and vindictive spirit repel her from us. I said that our nation may get rid of slavery and yet be unsaved, because yet impenitent. Thus far, if we except the Old School Presbyterian Assembly, which does so strikingly verify the words, "The last shall be first," there are scarcely any signs of her repentance. With this exception, no ecclesiastical party, and without exception, no political party is heard to exclaim: "We are verily guilty concerning our brother." And even now, when the necessities and laws of war have put slavery at the unqualified and entire disposal of the government, the government hesitates and the people hesitate, and guiltless millions are left to pine in their prison-house.

I would not underrate the criminality of the South. It is exceedingly great. But so is ours. She rebelled against a government which had always been very indulgent toward her. We, however, as well as she, are responsible for the rebellion, because we, as well as she, are responsible for slavery. And this infernal rebellion, like the infernal crimes against Kansas a few years ago, is but another outbreaking of infernal slavery. I admit that the South carries on the war with great barbarity. But it is slavery which made her so barbarous; and hence it is not for us, her fellow-upholders of slavery, to taunt her with it, or make any complaint of it. For us, who still sanction the traffic in living human bones, to make such ado about her converting dead human bones into trinkets is ridiculous affectation and disgusting hypocrisy. Do with my dead bones what you will, only treat them well while there is life in them.

It is in the light of our common responsibility with the South for this rebellion, and the causes of it, that I cannot respond to the whole of the popular war-cry: "INDEMNITY FOR THE PAST AND SECURITY FOR THE FUTURE." Security for the future I would insist on; and that, as I have said, can be gained through our repentance. But as to indemnity for the past, I deny that the North is more entitled to it at the hands of the South than the South is at the hands of the North. The simple truth is that for half a century the North and the South have been wronging and ruining each other by countenancing and encouraging each other in their common crime against humanity. And hence, all claim of the one upon the other for indemnity for the past is impudent and absurd.

I repeat it, that nothing short of repentance can save the nation. No wonder that the Prophets, and the Baptist, and Jesus preached repentance as the great remedy. Profoundly wise were they in doing so. Its power is not exhausted on those who are exercised by it. Besides that it lifts them up into a nobler character, and into the region of a better and higher life, it begets forgiveness in the offended; and they are hardly less profited by their forgiveness than the offenders are by their repentance. Moreover, repentance begets repentance. The repentance of others calls loudly and persuasively on us to repent. Let the South see us sorrowing penitently over the oppression of the black man, and she will not only forgive us, but she will sorrow penitently with us.

It may be true that the North will be able to protect herself by means of victories over the South. It may be true that the nation will again become nominally one nation. It has been only such for the last thirty or forty years. But the nation can be saved and become really one only by conquering the South through the heart of the South. It is true that slavery will soon cease. But unless it shall cease through penitence, and through pity and love for the black man, the nation will continue to be two nations in spirit. Moreover, Southern fanaticism, hatred, and desperation, and the diseases of the Southern climate, and various other causes, including possibly European intervention, will but too probably have the effect to keep the nation, for a long time, torn asunder outwardly as well as inwardly. And in this connection we are to remember how mightily the Democratic party at the North is contributing to this effect. That party—its patriotic members having left it and identified themselves with the cause of their country—is as desperate and dangerous a party as the world has ever seen. It knows that it can have no power when slavery is gone; and hence it is at work not to save the country, but to save slavery. It knows that its own life is in the life of slavery; and hence it dreads the death of slavery as it dreads its own death. And we are not to forget that the North has been so long and so extensively debauched by slavery as to make it but too probable that very many, who had never been enrolled in that party, will now welcome its pro-slavery policy and become its members.

Perhaps it is too late for even our penitent deliverance of the slave to restore the ruined nation. Perhaps the American people may repent, and be blessed in their repentance, and yet not be able to reestablish their nation. Perhaps the Divine justice—the justice of Him in whose name and by whose authority President, and Congress, and People should long ago have insisted on the immediate and unconditional abolition of slavery; perhaps, I say, this justice cannot now be satisfied by even the penitent deliverance of the slave. Perhaps, in addition to this, the nation must remain broken up; aye, and remain so forever. If it must, let the penalty for the enormous transgression be accepted unmurmuringly. And let there be this consolation—that the permanent sundering of the superlatively guilty nation will sound out to all nations, present and to come, the loudest warning ever sounded out against oppressing the poor. "For the oppression of the poor" God will arise. Sooner or later, he will avenge them. Rivers of human blood and thousands of millions of wasted treasure are now proving that He does avenge them.

TRUE MANHOOD

BY WILLIAM STOKES, MANCHESTER, ENGLAND.

Not he who rollicks in the gilded car,
With gold-bespangled menials in his train,
And prancing steeds clanking the horseman's chain;
Nor he who vaunts the "garter" and the "star,"
Whose roll ancestral travels back afar
Into dim darkness or the mist of ages,
Baffling the skill of grave and learned sages
To read aright the record of its pages,
And say who his first father—what his name—
Whether of tainted or untainted fame,
Or if of "gentle" blood, or coarse, he came;
Not he whose honor rises in the dark
Is the true man, or wears true manhood's mark.

Not he who revels in the transient smile
Of courts and nobles, and the circle gay
Of titled drones, who heartless homage pay
At foot of Royalty, and there beguile
Life's precious hours with mimic pomp and style,
Content with fashion's empty round of pleasure,
Or vain display of large but ill spent treasure,
Bestowed on pride without or stint or measure,
While the poor ploughman labors on in grief,
And widowed hearts and orphans ask relief,
But bootless ask, where fashion reigns the chief;
Not he who thus his life to glitter gives
Is the true man, nor manhood in him lives.

But he true manhood knows, and only he,
Who drops a tear and bears a pang for all
Of humankind; who, ready at the call
Of groaning suff'rer struggling to be free,
Will dauntless plead for golden liberty,
And, true to man, "in season, out of season,"
Will dare denounce, as black and deadly treason
To man's humanity, what clouds pure reason,
Or conscience checks, or throws a tyrant's chain
Around free thought for lucre or for gain,
That despots may the more securely reign.
He who thus nobly treads life's narrow span
Shows the TRUE MANHOOD in himself as man.

DEATH OF MR. BUCKLE.

MR. J. S. STUART GLENNIE thus writes from Beyrout, on June 1, on the death of Mr. Buckle:

He had overworked himself, and suddenly felt the effects of it after the publication of his second volume last spring. In October he left England, accompanied by two boys, the sons of a friend, and spent the winter on the Nile. He was so much better that in the beginning of March we left Cairo together for Sinai and Petra. Greatly improved in health by the six weeks in the Desert, he undertook the more fatiguing travelling on horseback through Palestine. Again his ardent temperament, or rather, as I now think, the restlessness of an over-excited nervous system, made him do too much, and, though on the 27th of April he expressed himself as feeling never to have been in better health in his life, he was that day seized with diarrhœa, and afterward with an attack of sore throat, which detained us at Nazareth for more than a week.

He never recovered his Desert strength, and we had to stop a couple of days more than we had proposed at Sidon, and take the easiest though least interesting route to Damascus. At the sudden view of that famous plain, on emerging from the rocky defile on the eastern ridge of Anti-Lebanon, he exclaimed, "It is worth more than all the pain and fatigue it has cost me." Alas! how much more it was to cost him!

The fatigue again brought on diarrhœa. The quantity of opium prescribed, though small, yet, with his peculiar constitution, produced delirium for about a quarter of an hour, and it was touching to hear him exclaim in the midst of his incoherent utterances, "Oh, my book, my book, I shall never finish my book!" The French medical officer, however, whom he consulted, not only assured him, but myself privately, that there was nothing whatever to fear, only that it would be advisable he should give up the proposed excursion to Baalbeck and through the Lebanon, and return by the French carriage-road to Beyrout.

On these assurances, and finding him apparently much better on the 21st, I regret to say I was induced to leave him, and go the long route through the Lebanon alone, in the confident expectation, however, that I should find him waiting me at Beyrout, reinvigorated by the sea air, and ready to proceed on our journey to Greece and Turkey. I need not say how shocked I was to hear at the Consulate yesterday (31st of May) that, on the evening of the day I left Damascus (the 21st), he was seized with typhus fever, sunk into an unconscious stupor on the 28th, died, and was buried on the 29th. One thing, I confess, I fear may have hastened the end; he was leeched. But the kindness and attention of our acting consul, Mr. Sandwith, the American missionary, Mr. Robson, and the American physician, Dr. Barclay, who went up expressly from Beyrout, must be warmly acknowledged. The stimulants applied by the latter had only the effect of producing the partial and very temporary return to consciousness which preceded his decease.

Thus, at the early age of 39, died one whose death, I think, more than the partiality of a friend, makes me consider him a national loss. It is left for us but to hope that he is now enjoying that immortality without the hope of which, as he once said to me, with tears in his eyes, "life would be insupportable," and in the more immediate presence and with deeper knowledge of that God in whom he firmly believed. And so, passing through the ruins of the Christian quarter, outside the walls, on the same day he died, as the sun set over that mountain ridge from which with such delight he had but ten days before—such is the irony of life—gazed on his death-bed, in the small Protestant cemetery, its trees torn up, and its eight or ten tombstones broken by fanatical Mohammedans, he was interred.

Mr. Buckle's delicate health as a boy caused him to be taken early from school, and prevented his being sent to college. On the death of his father, he succeeded at eighteen to a considerable fortune, but, despising its temptations, he devoted himself to study. His chief recreation was chess, and he could number Lowenthal among the vanquished. He early attracted the attention of such men as Hallam and Bunsen, and gained their esteem as a young man of great promise. With all the comforts and advantages of book-collecting and of travelling afforded by fortune, he lived a happy student's life, and had in the course of it but one great grief.

Though Mr. Buckle's lamentable death leaves undone not only so much of what he intended, but of what he had prepared elaborate materials for, I am glad to say that his posthumous works may be no less valuable than those which have already appeared. I fear that the outlined essays, "On the Ultimate Causes of the Interest of Money," "On Bacon" (which would have been chiefly an essay on Method), "On Shakspeare," and "On the Influence of Northern Palestine on the Origin of Christianity," may not be found in a sufficient state of forwardness to be published, as he proposed, collectively with the papers he had contributed to *Frazer's Magazine*; but great parts of the special "History of Civilization in England" exist ready for publication, and his common-place books, with their immensely-varied yet methodically-arranged extracts, will form the most curious, interesting, and valuable collection of materials that has, probably, ever yet been published as the work of a single English student, and their publication will be according to his own intention in case of the non-completion of his work.

GONE.

BY ALICE CARY.

Gone from my hope for him—gone from my trust in him—
Broken, borne down in a profitless strife—
Speak his name softly, and mourn for him tenderly,
Ne'er to have come to himself in his life.

His great heart within him forevermore silent—
No hand that could gather its music away—
He dwelt in the land of his love like a stranger—
Not master, but guest in his house of the clay.

Men that saw only with cloudier vision,
Coming up to him, went sturdily past—
How can I choose but weep wild tears of woe for him,
Heart, head and tongue playing false to the last?

Speak his name tenderly, mourn for him bitterly—
Gone, and no token of honor conferred—
Hid in the shadow of beauty immortal,
Singing no song that the world ever heard.

Ah, could this dust have been shaped to its uses,
What triumphs there were for his spirit to win—
Speak from the darkness, my poet, and say hast thou
Come to thyself in the world thou art in?

O speak lest I die of my grief—from the darkness
Speak to me, my beautiful poet, and say
Thou hast come to thyself, thou hast gone from the twilight,
And walkest in the glad, golden light of the day.

IMPORTANT POLITICAL MOVEMENT.

WE have obtained information of a very important political movement which has lately taken place in this city, and which is likely to exercise no small influence upon the destinies of this State and the Union. It seems that, a few evenings since, a select party of bankers, shipping merchants, politicians, lawyers and editors met in a private room at one of our hotels, and resolved to organize a new party, to be known as "The Antediluvians."

A prominent merchant observed that, in his opinion, things had been going from bad to worse for many years. The encroachments of the Executive were becoming intolerable: witness the execution of the martyr Gordon! For his part, he believed in leaving trade entirely free, and if a man chose to import negroes from Africa he saw no objection; it was notorious that the spiritual condition of the slaves in South Carolina was far superior to that of the negroes in Ashantee or Dahomey. He went in for saving souls where he could. He thought the legislation of the United States rotten, and advised a recurrence to the old colonial laws, under which his ancestors in Rhode Island had done uncommonly well for several generations.

An editor, in rising, wished to say that he was in favor of the prosecution of the war. But he wished it prosecuted with some regard to humanity. He was opposed to the shedding of blood, especially of the blood of our brethren in the slave States. He could wish that Gen. McClellan should be directed to fire several volleys with blank cartridges in the direction of Richmond, after which a deputation should be sent to Jeff. Davis to offer him the reversion of the Presidency on condition of peace. His blood boiled when he thought of the number of slaves who had escaped from their masters during the present war. He understood that Gen. Lee, whom he was proud to call his friend, had lost two valuable slaves. Why were they not returned? Was the government a common thief? He was not a church-member himself, but he had a friend who went regularly to meeting, and who informed him that in Deuteronomy—

Here the speaker was interrupted by a boy, who came in with a list of the killed and wounded at Fair Oaks, which the editor began to copy for his paper.

A lawyer remarked that the authors of the war were the people of New England, and that they were the real disunionists. A popular impression existed that it was the people of South Carolina who fired the first gun in the war. This was a mistake. It was Massachusetts which sought a severance of the Union, not South Carolina. He was bound to admit that the former had sent a few troops to support the President, while the latter had despatched her volunteers against Washington. But appearances were often deceitful. The South Carolinians were a whole-souled people, incapable of dishonest dealing; whereas he knew from experience that the New Englanders were rogues. He had a case—

Here he was called to order by the Chairman, who remarked that while glad to hear that their friend, the lawyer, had got a case at last, it had nothing to do with the object of the meeting. They had met there to see if something could not be done to stem the tide of human progress and civilization, which was sweeping before it the time-honored prejudices, abuses and wrongs to which they all naturally clung. He would call upon his neighbor, the banker, to ventilate his opinions.

The banker remarked that the great trouble in this country was the want of an established aristocracy. His friend, Lord Thingumbob, had told him so when he met him in Pall Mall, and he was convinced of the fact. At the South, now, the large slave-owners constituted an aristocracy—not so solid as might be wished, he confessed, as many of the young men at the South were apt to gamble away their niggers. He had himself won a yellow girl at poker, and sold her six weeks afterward for $2,500 (ha! ha!). But still the South had an aristocracy, and this was the secret of the superiority of Southern men to Northerners. He was decidedly in favor of the organization of a new party at the North based on sound feudal principles. He thought the United States required a hereditary aristocracy selected from the . . bankers, merchants. . .bankers, lawyers . . bankers, men of property, and so forth. If a plank to this effect were inserted in the platform of the new party, they might count him in.

A politician congratulated the meeting upon the soundness of the views expressed by the speakers, and the firm front they proposed to present to the pernicious heresies of the day. In the present disastrous crisis of the country he had taken his side some time since, and proposed to stand by it. He was in favor of the war. But after the war, he wanted the *statu quo ante bellum* absolutely restored. He hoped to see his friend Senator (now General) Toombs of Georgia in his place in the Senate; his friend and correspondent Senator Mason, now absent in Europe, at the head of the Senate Committee on Foreign Relations; his old acquaintance Mr. Jefferson Davis restored to the control of the Committee on Military Affairs, which his experience during the present war will so admirably fit him to wield; and Brother Ben appointed United States Commissioner of Lotteries, with a large percentage on the sale of policies. He agreed with his friend the lawyer in the opinion that the North was at least as largely responsible for the war as the South. He could see no difference himself between an Abolitionist and a secess-ionist—a friend of freedom and a friend of slavery—a defender of the government and a traitor. They were all one to him. With these few remarks he would move the following resolutions:

"Whereas, The rascally and diabolical conduct of the Northern States, and especially Massachusetts, Vermont, and Wisconsin, have plunged this country into a fratricidal war; and whereas, the bloodthirsty representatives from these States refused persistently to avert the war by adopting the advice of such pure patriots as Breckinridge, Vallandigham, and Hunter, and giving up everything demanded by the Southern people;

"And whereas, The Southerners have already proved their valor, and the utter impossibility of subjugating them by force of arms;

"Be it resolved, 1. That the times call for the establishment of a new Northern party, consisting of all the virtue and worth, and most of the modesty of the North, to crush out and keep down the rascally, Jacobinical, radical faction.

"2. That the cardinal principle of this party be the restoration of the Union as it was, with Mason, Slidell, Breckinridge, Davis and Hunter in the Senate, Pryor, Stephens and Barksdale in the House, the Fugitive Slave law in full operation throughout the North, and slavery in all the Territories, present and future.

"3. That, with a view to conciliate our Southern brethren, the officers of the Southern army should be admitted into the United States army with the rank they now hold, and that the supreme command be given to Gen. Beauregard, who should be appointed Lieutenant-General by Congress.

"4. That Major-Gen. Lovell be invited to resume his position as Street Inspector in this city.

"5. That Senator Sumner be tried for treason, and if possible, hanged.

"6. That a monument be raised in the city of Boston to the memory of the late Preston Brooks, whose Christian behavior was so beautiful a prototype of the conduct of his Southern friends during the present war.

"7. That Robert Small, the nigger who ran away from his owners in Charleston with a valuable steamboat, be returned under a flag of truce, and Com. Dupont, who abetted him in the theft of himself and boat, be dismissed from the service.

"8. That the negro who gave Col. Kenly information of the approach of the enemy at Front Royal, receive one hundred lashes for escaping from his owner without a regular pass.

"9. That the true object of the establishment of the government of the United States was the protection and maintenance of slavery and the discouragement of freedom; wherefore a law of Congress should render it penal, forever hereafter, to speak commendingly, in any public discourse, of freedom or liberty, or of the rights of man; and an orator should be appointed by Congress, on each Fourth of July, to explain to the people the beauties of slavery, the charm of the whipping-post, the advantage of the iron collar, the merits of the bloodhound, the virtues of slave-traders, and the general common sense of making people work without wages.

"10. That Russia having commenced the emancipation of the serfs, diplomatic relations be broken off with her; that Spain be warned that if she carries out the object of her leading statesmen for the emancipation of the negroes in Cuba and Porto Rico, the United States will consider it a *casus belli*, and that new and close treaties of friendship and amity be concluded with the Emperor of Brazil, the King of Dahomey, and the Sultan of Turkey.

"11. That it being the deliberate sense of the members of this party that the world is going headlong to ruin—that civilization is a mistake and progress a delusion—and take the name and title of the Antediluvians."

These resolutions, having been put to the vote, were carried *nem. con.*; and the meeting separated in high good humor.—*Harper's Weekly*

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